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SUPREME COURT MUDDLE—M. E. Tracy

Current HISTORY

MAY, 1937

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CURRENT HISTORY

MAY 1937

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SPRING PARADE OF NON-FICTION

N. B. COUSINS
Literary Editor

THE WORLD IN BOOKS

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>Our Gallant Madness</i>	Frederick Palmer	Doubleday, Doran	\$2.50
<i>Claude Kitchin and the Wilson War Policies</i>	Alex M. Arnett	Little, Brown	3.00
<i>The Private Manufacture of Armaments</i>	Philip Noel-Baker	Oxford University Press	3.75
<i>Lord Grey of Fallodon</i>	George M. Trevelyan	Houghton, Mifflin	3.75
<i>Dusk of Empire</i>	Wythe Williams	Scribners	3.00
<i>The Fascist: His State and His Mind</i>	E. B. Ashton	Morrow	2.50
<i>The Making of the Constitution</i>	Charles Warren	Houghton, Mifflin	3.75
<i>The Supreme Court Issue and the Constitution</i>	William R. Barnes	Barnes and Noble	1.00
<i>Supreme Court or Political Puppets?</i>	A. W. Littlefield		
<i>A History of American Political Thought</i>	David Lawrence	Appleton-Century	.50
<i>The West in American History</i>	Edward R. Lewis	Macmillan	5.00
<i>Palestine at the Crossroads</i>	Dan E. Clark	Crowell	3.50
<i>Can China Survive?</i>	Ladislas Farago	Putnam	3.50
<i>Hallett Abend</i>	Anthony J. Billingham	Ives Washburn	3.00
<i>A History of the Far East</i>	Harold M. Vinacke	Crofts	6.00

(An additional listing of important spring books begins on page 125)

THERE are several reminders on the list of spring non-fiction books that exactly twenty years ago the United States allowed itself to be bandwagoned into what some members of the clergy have termed a large scale murder competition. Those were the days when Congress ordered huge numbers of youth who had been taught to respect law, life, and order to overlook such niceties for the moment and become professional killers. And these are the days whose events and human history are now recalled by Frederick Palmer in *Our Gallant Madness* and by Alex Mathews Arnett in *Claude Kitchin and the Wilson War Policies*, and whose implications are analyzed by Philip Noel-Baker in *The Private Manufacture of Armaments*.

If, in retrospect, some still believe that the United States was justified in marching off to

war in 1917, the suggestion is made that these three books be made compulsory reading. Combined, they form a formidable farewell-to-war library whose arguments must remain unanswered on any grounds save the hot cellars of Hades.

Colonel Palmer, chief of the American press division during '17 and '18, has not written *Our Gallant Madness* in the dawn's early light nor in the rocket's red glare. He is a soldier, but his first allegiance is to human rights; war is neither necessary nor unavoidable, and murder on the battlefield is no less shocking a crime than anywhere else.

But what about our people—did the millions of doughboys, volunteered and conscripted, think of war in this sense? Were they not aware, as we now claim they should have been, that the declaration of war was ignited by the sparks of a

grinding axe? Could they not foresee that the war would not save the world for democracy and that twenty years later would find the menace of a strange new political pattern, called fascism, which had the peculiar conception of the modern state as an instrument of oppression and regimentation, sustaining itself through the use of the mailed fist and draining its economic blood for armament manufacture?

These questions hardly entered the public mind in 1917. In fact, as Colonel Palmer recalls, few people thought of the war in terms of American soldiers actually fighting it out in Europe. All that was needed were a few cruisers to keep the strategic zones clear of German submarines. We were not a member of the "Allies"—merely one of their "associates". We would wage war against Germany in an economic way, furnishing the Allies with money and supplies. But as for flesh-and-blood combat on the other side of the Atlantic—unthinkable! Senator Thomas S. Martin, of the Senate Finance Committee, hearing that the Army wanted three billions of dollars to equip and arm a million men, leaned forward and exclaimed:

"Good Lord! You aren't going to send soldiers over there, are you?"

But we did, and American soldiers who had

enlisted in the belief that the United States would be invaded and that Germany would be crushed in the passes of the Alleghenies found themselves on the way to France and trenches where war meant mud and filth and guns and gas and death. It was war—real war—and the nation sucked its breath in horror with the realization that men, and not merely money and supplies, were needed to win the fight.

The first weeks of the war, Mr. Palmer writes, found Washington spilling over with enthusiastic citizens and amateur strategists who had sure-fire schemes to win the war in a hurry. A delegation of firemen begged to be allowed to send engines and hoses to the front so that the Germans could be flooded right out of the trenches and into the open! Somebody else wanted to squash the Germans by dropping lead from the sky. A self-styled inventive genius conceived the idea of motorless airplanes run by perpetual motion; all the government had to do was to discover perpetual motion—he would do the rest. Industrial magnates with six-digit salaries ran to Washington to accept one-dollar-a-year posts and bristled all over the capital fit to burst with importance.

Confusion? Madness? Perhaps. Yet there was something strangely magnificent about it all,

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Current History
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Colonel Palmer believes, appropriately calling it *Our Gallant Madness*. Our participation was not gallant in the sense that war, itself, is noble; it is gallant in the sense that a people were sincere in their sacrifice and had faith in the slogan for which war had been declared.

Claude Kitchin

But that declaration would never have been made had the nation listened to Claude Kitchin, war-time Democratic leader of the House of Representatives. The Congressman from North Carolina, Mr. Arnett tells us in *Claude Kitchin and the Wilson War Policies*, was as inflexible as flint in his opposition to participation in the World War. When Wilson sought re-election on the platform that he kept us out of war, Kitchin shouted that the President had done everything but actually push us into the mess during his first administration. He believed that Wilson's sympathies were with the Allies from the start, and feared that the President was "going to watch for the first opportunity to strike at Germany, plunge this nation into war, and make a slaughter-house of the whole world."

And when the nation slowly began its drift towards war, during Wilson's first administration, Kitchin was in the center of the fight against participation, speaking out with cold, clear reason and imploring the country to chart a course of neutrality which had its basis in fact and not in the prejudices of any public officer. But the drift soon became an avalanche, drowning out his protests. On the very day that the war resolution, having passed the Senate with only six dissenting votes, came before the House, Claude Kitchin stood up and spoke his mind.

He said that it took neither moral nor physical courage to declare a war for others to fight. If the United States entered the war, it could not honestly say that its reason was to protect American lives and American rights on the high seas. The cause of Great Britain, France, and Russia, right or wrong, was being made our cause. We were to make their quarrel, right or wrong, our quarrel. And Kitchin was convinced that the cause of others did not warrant the sacrifice. "Whatever be the future, whatever be the rewards or penalties of this nation's step," he said, "I shall always believe that we could and ought to have kept out of this war."

At the time, when it took courage to shout against the mob, Kitchin was assailed and subjected to vicious slurs in the press. He does not live to see his vindication, but Mr. Arnett's book will serve as a fitting monument. It is a monu-

ment which will be all the more enduring for its calm courtesy and its lack of over-statement.

Cause of War

Why war? Philip Noel-Baker, a member of Parliament, will tell you that war has long ceased to be the sole result of legitimate quarrels between nations. He has spent ten years studying the problem and is convinced that armaments are more than the instruments used to wage and prolong war: they are a direct cause. The results of this phase of his study are contained in *The Private Manufacture of Armaments*, which arraigns, tries, and finds, on the basis of exhaustive evidence, that the private armament manufacturers are guilty of the crime of war and of a "prosperity" made possible by the merciless destruction of man and his work. But having returned a verdict against these vendors of death, Mr. Noel-Baker would not sentence them and them alone. Equally guilty are the governments under which the private manufacturers are encouraged and permitted to thrive.

Mr. Noel-Baker's case, then, is for total abolition of armament manufacture by private concerns. His study has convinced him that the World War was the product of scares, panics, and "crises" manufactured by the vested armament interests even as they manufactured bullets and bombs. In the ten years before the war they were working in a "hundred different ways," he asserts, to step up their sales. Government officers were solicited and bribed without compunction. People "friendly" to the interests were placed and maintained in government positions. The propaganda factories turned out spy-scares, misunderstandings, and panics in wholesale lots. Governments were pitted against one another in mad races to rearm. A firm sold arms to potential enemies of its own government, knowing that it could thereby cash in on the demand of both countries to outstrip each other.

This is strong stuff, but Mr. Noel-Baker is not dealing in controversy or conjecture. He has carefully assembled his facts, documents, and quotations, and has avoided writing any meanings into them that are not apparent at once to the reader. *The Private Manufacture of Armaments* is, therefore, more than a story; it is a record and an authentic one. As such, it is of international moment and should be a great influence in the argument against private traffic in arms.

Armaments and Lord Grey

It is interesting to note that Mr. Noel-Baker quotes Lord Grey, English Foreign Secretary

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ARMAMENT CIVILIZATION: *The private traffic in arms, says Philip Noel-Baker in The Private Manufacture of Armaments, is today threatening the peace of the world just as it did in 1914. The reproduction above is an air view of the Krupp ammunition works at Essen, Germany.*

during the war, as asserting that the "true and final account of the origin of the war" goes back to the armament competition. Lord Grey's life, his activities during the war, and bitter opposition to the armaments race are told in detail in the biography, *Lord Grey of Fallodon*, by George Macaulay Trevelyan.

Five years before the World War broke out, Sir Edward Grey made an impassioned plea against the scramble of the European powers for leadership in military preparations. The extent to which war expenditures has grown, he said, became a satire and a reflection on civilization. He correctly predicted that unless checked the armaments race would end in a disaster which would "submerge that civilization."

There is little question that either as a statesman or as a naturalist and writer, Edward Grey was one of Britain's greatest sons. While Foreign Secretary, he worked for peace, joining America in laying the foundation for a League of Nations. But public life to him was a service—to be fulfilled unselfishly and without question. He preferred, though, his work in the country and in the fields where his leanings as a naturalist could find their best expression. His observations on

bird life have given him rank with Audubon; as the author of the *Charm of Birds* and the *Fallodon Papers* he won ready recognition as a naturalist and was highly praised by W. W. Hudson.

The story of Edward Grey's life, in war and peace, finds a competent and sympathetic biographer in Mr. Trevelyan. It is no easy task to chronicle the life of a man who had two separate careers and who was definitely outstanding in both, but Mr. Trevelyan has contributed a work of grace and clarity, a credit to both subject and biographer.

Mr. Williams on Arms

Lord Grey's oft-repeated stand against arms and armament races would appear to be in direct conflict with the suggestions made by Wythe Williams, who, in *Dusk of Empire*, seems to believe that the way to stay out of war is to carry a bigger gun than the next fellow. The United States, he says, would have been in a "magnificent situation," politically, and from the standpoint of military strategy, if she possessed a formidable army at the time of the outbreak of the World War.

And the best policy for America to follow today, he adds, now that another war is threatening, is to be "too tough" for others to fight. With a great army, a great navy, and a great air force second to none, who can challenge us? The author also seems to favor the immediate creation of an army built by short-term conscription—a few months each year over a period of several years. Thus, in the event of war within the next decade, the United States would have upwards of a million trained men ready to start shooting.

There has always been something puzzling about the doctrine of preparedness, as expressed, for example, by Mr. Williams. It seems to be based on the assumption that war is inevitable and that the only sensible thing to do is to be ready for it when it comes. Yet it does not take into consideration that a million guns and a million men on one side cancel off a million guns and a million men on the other, and that both opposing nations have no more military advantage than when they started. And has the author ever heard of a war where both sides are unarmed?

Of course, there is a certain amount of realism in Mr. Williams' argument which we would be foolish not to respect. Few are opposed to reasonable military defense precautions, especially at a time when Europe is a forest of bayonets. But by reasonable is not meant conscription in time of peace, nor "second-to-none" air forces, armies, or navies.

In fairness to Mr. Williams, however, it should be emphasized that such of his suggestions as have been discussed constitute only one of the themes—and not the major one—of *Dusk of Empire*. Mr. Williams was a World War newspaper correspondent and he has recounted his experiences and observations of that period. These he has linked together with the salient events of the post-war years, his analysis of which has convinced him that Europe's world supremacy is evanescent and that the sun of leadership now shines upon the United States. Unless we recognize and grasp that opportunity for leadership there can be only catastrophe ahead.

Fascism and Fascists

E. B. Ashton, in *The Fascist: His State and His Mind* has written a thought-provoking and meaty work on a subject which thus far has evoked many and varying types of definition and dogma, but little unanimity. Americans are making the same mistake in their conception of fascism as they have with communism. No one takes seriously any more the description of a communist as a man with red beard and smoking

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bomb. Similarly, we shall be better equipped to fight fascism if we realize and recognize that the overthrow of democracy may be inspired not by a one-eyed monster on horseback from overseas but perhaps by one who will protest his 100 per cent Americanism even as he is tearing down its very foundations, and who will announce in double-spread editorials on the first pages of all his newspapers that he has saved the United States from the "sinister spectre of bolshevism."

Mr. Ashton is to be thanked for his clear and penetrating study. He does not believe that fascism can be undermined merely by discrediting and describing it, as many have done, as a black reactionary movement advocating a return to seventeenth century viewpoints and ideas. We must admit from the start, he contends, that it is essentially a product of present-day civilization and is composed of the most recently developed economic system of modern capitalism and the state conception of collectivism.

Another important concession which the peoples of democratic nations should be willing to make, the author believes, is to accept as true the premise that the majority of the people in Germany and Italy do not consider fascism as a "yoke." Their mentality, their inherent likes and dislikes, their traditions, he says, all point to that type of super-state. We would do better to fortify our own democracy than to run off on a mission to save a people who may not want to be saved: "Our strongest argument against a threatening American fascism is not that the Germans or Italians are enslaved; it is that fascism is not in line with our traditions, while it is with theirs."

After surveying the American scene, Mr. Ashton reports that fascism stands little chance in this country. But, he warns, there can be no sitting back in smug assurance that "it can't happen here." For there are dangers and it would be folly to give them full play. Among these is the danger of pseudo-fascism of the Buzz Windrip variety—the erection of a state by persuasion or force of any kind of authoritative rule *not* in accord with the will of the people. Another threat is international aggression—"fascist power is an avalanche that cannot stop until its motion is halted completely" and sooner or later democracy must be prepared to withstand an assault.

The most potent threat to American democracy today, however, the author is convinced, is the assumption of powers by the Supreme Court in such a way as to frustrate popular will. The members of the Court have not been "content with guarding the Constitution as the people's idea of democracy," but have substituted "their

own idea of a democratic system." Continuance of this judicial dictatorship, he warns, will undermine our government by shattering the people's faith in the ability of democracy to meet their needs.

Constitutional Background

Any discussion of the Supreme Court, of course, must revert to the Constitution and its founding. And on this subject Charles Warren's *The Making of the Constitution*, a new and popular-priced edition of which has just been published, is a qualified authority. Professor Warren's work, originally published in 1928, has won wide and lasting recognition. It is a work which has assembled and made possible access to pertinent letters, documents, and material on the Constitution in one volume. Dr. Warren has sought to show that the Constitution was a "practical document, drafted by practical men—men of wide vision and high ideals but also of skill in adjustment of varying points of view—it was not the product of a class or a section, and no single influence led either to its inception or to its adoption."

Professor Warren's work makes sound background reading for the profusion of books which have streamed from the presses on the Court and Constitution during the past year and a half. The President's proposal to enlarge the Court is sure to give more impetus to the large output. Already there have been a half dozen or more books dealing specifically with the proposal, most of which have followed the general trend toward the return of midget-sized volumes and pamphlets. Prominent among these are *The Supreme Court Issue and the Constitution*, edited by William R. Barnes and A. W. Littlefield, and *Supreme Court or Political Puppets?* by David Lawrence.

Compact and easily adapted to ready-reference, *The Supreme Court Issue and the Constitution* contains the President's proposal in full, the Constitution, biographies of the justices, and comments, pro and con. Intelligently edited and arranged, this little volume will serve as an interesting record of an historic question long after the issue has been settled.

Mr. Lawrence's effort is a wreath of roses for the Court. The justices will be remembered, he prophesies, as the "nine honest men who withstood intimidation and threats of legislative reprisal, the men who saw their duty in the finest traditions of Anglo-Saxon justice and pronounced their verdict with a responsibility only to their consciences and their God."

The Supreme Court emerges bright and shining from Mr. Lawrence's energetic whitewash but it is unfortunate that he offers no solution for the

(Continued on page 125)

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

*Taken from our radio quiz
 "CURRENT HISTORY EXAMS"*
(Station WHN, Wed. 8:30-9 P.M.)

THE QUESTIONS:

1. What large body of water is commonly referred to by Italians as "the Italian Lake"?
2. What country dominates the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea from the Atlantic Ocean?
3. What two islands in the Mediterranean are held and fortified by Great Britain?
4. Near what large Italian Island is Malta?
5. Is the Island of Cyprus nearer the Spanish or the Asia Minor coastline of the Mediterranean?
6. What port on the Asia Minor coastline of the Mediterranean is the terminus of British oil pipelines which carry oil from the Mosul oil-fields in Iraq?
7. Has Japan a one- or a two-house Parliament?
8. Does the term Diet mean the upper house, the lower house, or both houses of the Japanese Parliament?
9. What are the two great political parties in Japan?
10. What is the general attitude of Japan's two leading parties toward the insistence of certain army interests on direct imperial expansion through military action?
11. What is the capital of the Straits Settlements?
12. What is the strategic importance to Great Britain of Singapore?
13. Where is most of the world's rubber produced today?
14. Name the ten South American Republics.
15. Name the seven republics in Central America.
16. What are the three republics occupying islands, or parts of islands, in the Caribbean?
17. Is there any sovereign country in the New World which is not a republic?
18. Excluding the Dominion of Canada, what British possessions are there on the Continent of North America?

THE ANSWERS:

1. The Mediterranean Sea is often called by Italians "the Italian Lake."
2. Great Britain dominates the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea from the Atlantic Ocean through the Strait of Gibraltar.
3. Great Britain has fortified the Islands of Malta and Cyprus in the Mediterranean.
4. Malta is near the Italian Island of Sicily.
5. Cyprus is only about 40 miles south of Asia Minor.
6. Haifa, in Palestine, is the terminus of British oil pipelines, carrying oil from the Mosul oil-fields in Iraq.
7. Japan has a two-house Parliament.
8. "Diet" refers to both houses of the Japanese Parliament.
9. Japan's two great political parties are the Seiyukai and the Minseito.
10. Neither of Japan's two great parties is in accord with army demands for direct imperial expansion by military action, although both might be said to favor expansion.
11. Singapore is the capital of Great Britain's Straits Settlements.
12. Singapore is strategically important to Great Britain because it commands the Strait of Malacca which provides the only direct sea lane between the Pacific and the Indian Oceans.
13. Seventy per cent of the world's rubber is produced in the Dutch East Indies.
14. Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, and Venezuela.
15. Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Panama, and Salvador.
16. Cuba, Haiti, and Santo Domingo.
17. All sovereign countries in the new world are republics.
18. Excluding Canada, British possessions on the continent of North America are British Honduras and Newfoundland.

1927

TEN YEARS AGO

1937

THIS OCTOBER

It is interesting to turn back the pages of the years and read the record of a business. . . . For time has a way of testing purposes and policies. Good years and lean reveal the character of men and organizations. . . . The fundamental policy of the Bell System is not of recent birth—it has been the corner-stone of the institution for many years. On October 20, 1927, it was reaffirmed in these words by

Walter S. Gifford, President, American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

"The business of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and its Associated Bell Telephone Companies is to furnish telephone service to the nation.

"The fact that the responsibility for such a large part of the telephone service of the country rests solely upon this Company and its Associated Companies also imposes on the management an unusual obligation to the public to see to it that the service shall at all times be adequate, dependable and satisfactory.

"Obviously, the only sound policy that will meet these obligations is to continue to furnish the best possible telephone service at the lowest cost consistent with financial safety. This policy is bound to succeed in the long run and there is no reason for acting otherwise than for the long run.



**BELL
TELEPHONE
SYSTEM**

"Earnings must be sufficient to assure the best possible telephone service at all times and to assure the continued financial integrity of the business. Earnings that are less than adequate must result in telephone service that is something less than the best possible.

"Earnings in excess of these requirements must either be spent for the enlargement and improvement of the service furnished or the rates charged for the service must be reduced. This is fundamental in the policy of the management.

"With your sympathetic understanding we shall continue to go forward, providing a telephone service for the nation more and more free from imperfections, errors or delays, and always at a cost as low as is consistent with financial safety."

7

CURRENT HISTORY

MAY 1937

LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS

Business and War Orders

NO ONE questions the tangible presence of recovery. In fact, the very term "recovery" has been outstripped by the swelling volume of business. Financial writers have tossed off the word, and turned to "boom." Business is booming along the economic front in some of the more important lines, at least. Of course, this may be cynical news to those men who, being beyond reach of unionism's magic wand, are still fighting to meet fixed charges from a niggardly pay envelope. But it is news indeed, and welcome in the speculator's wigwam.

The outstanding feature of the monthly March figures was the steel report on ingot production from the American Iron and Steel Institute. Production reached a level of 90.1 per cent capacity for the full month. What manner of orders are being filled by the steel companies no one seems to know with any surety. Some of the more skeptical financial experts surmise that the bulk of business must be "war orders." Munition factories are on overtime; battleship and cruiser yards are taxed to capacity. Some observers liken the present boom to the one which pleased the American business man in the winter of 1914-15.

Along with the metal rise goes the stock market. At the very time that John L. Lewis's men were squatting on General Motors property, General Motors stock was rising. And when unionism closed in on steel, United States Steel stock rose from 76 to 115. If, as some believe, war orders from Europe are now supplementing Government spending in America, then such recovery based on Governmental deficits, whether at home or abroad, will probably come to a bad end.

Almost without exception financial writers are flying storm signals. D. W. Ellsworth, writing in *The Annalist*, points out: "The fact that speculation is now running riot in commodities rather than in stocks and real estate merely means, if our reading of past economic changes is correct, that the present recovery will be choked by rising production costs all the sooner." At least Marriner Eccles is not alone in his alarm. Without qualification, he reassured the nation that nothing could be more unwholesome than the structure of the present recovery.



United Features Syndicate, Inc.

STILL PRETTY SPRY



NEA Service, Inc.

A BALANCED BUDGET-MESSAGE

What confuses the layman as he examines the testimony of the expert is the number of causes to which are attributed the fearful forebodings. Some point out the rising commodity speculation; others see the durable goods rise; all agree on Government spending. And all agree that the whole thing looks bad. Of course, there is a possibility that the alarms are ill-founded. Prophets who failed to divine the 1929 débâcle are determined not to miss calling the turn of the next depression. For the sake of their own redemption they are already muting wind through the horns of disaster.

Labor Faces a Counter-Attack

The first Governmental action on the labor controversies came on April 7 with the Senate denouncing not only the sit-down strikes but also employers who utilize labor spies and refuse to admit the right of employees to collective bargaining. Actually the impartiality of the resolution rendered it innocuous. Employers anxious for a good old-fashioned orgy of Federal strike-breaking were disgruntled, although not displeased, since the resolution did recognize the sit-down technique as illegal. Labor leaders were unimpressed. Fresh from a tussle with the Chrysler Corporation, they were occupied with consolidating their gains, and seriously concerned

with seeking a curb for the insurgent sit-down strikes threatening to discredit the discipline of industrial unionism.

The Chrysler agreement, in essence little different from the General Motors agreement, recognized the United Automobile Workers "as the collective bargaining agency for such of its employees who are members of the union." Despite the fact that the union did not attain its avowed objective of sole bargaining agency, the agreement was hailed in labor quarters as a victory. Impartial observers admit it is hardly a major victory since the agreement concedes to labor only just what the law allows.

However, in bold relief to the amicable settlement of the recent automotive controversies, is the attitude of Henry Ford. His years of irreconcilable anti-union activity are best reflected in the statement: "We'll never recognize the United Automobile Workers Union or any other union." Whether this position can be maintained in the face of revolutionary changes in industrial relations will be decided in the immediate future. As the Wagner Labor Relations Act has been declared valid, it is an illegal attitude. But while the legal aspects were still unresolved, John L. Lewis warned the C.I.O. workers that they must first organize before attempting a test of strength with the Ford management.

Soft Coal Compromise

Almost obscured by the drama of sit-down strikes was the signing of a two-year agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the soft coal operators. Averting a threatened strike of 400,000 miners, it disclosed the possibility of compromise and moderation in the current industrial scene. On the one hand, John L. Lewis yielded in his original demands for a 30-hour week and for a guaranteed annual wage of \$1,200. On the other hand, the employers abandoned their demands for a 40-hour week with no increase in pay. The compromise of these two widely disparate positions included a retention of the present 35-hour week with substantial increases in the wage scale. Justification of the speedy compromise is the logical result of bitter and sobering experience endured by both employers and labor unions in the past. Both are aware that the slightest friction can precipitately plunge the soft-coal industry back into the demoralized condition of 1933. Ruinous price competition from non-union

mines not only caused the breakdown of collective bargaining in 1927 but, coupled with the development of new fuels such as oil and the rapid mechanization of mines, reduced the number of coal-miners from 640,000 in 1920 to 419,000 in 1933. In the same period, the annual production of coal was reduced 50%. Faced with these facts, is it any wonder that the miners and operators not only reached an amicable agreement but turned, shoulder to shoulder, to seek some kind of Federal assistance.

Before the Congress is a new Guffey Coal Bill to replace the first Guffey Bill which protected prices under the NRA. Both the operators and the union consider the passage of this bill necessary to the stability of the coal industry, and it is assumed that their wage and hours agreement was postulated on its being passed. Price-fixing, however, has a forbidding sound in the public's ears. The public envisages itself, and rightly, as the ultimate victim. Wages, taxes, and subsidies are invariably passed along to the consumer. However, it appears that the coal industry can reasonably expect a more stable price structure than it has enjoyed in past years. At any rate, the compromise agreement between the union and the operators suggests a reasonable understanding of this problem, and a responsibility to the public.

Strikes Without Bloodshed

Many strikes have been successfully settled, and almost all of them have been terminated without bloodshed. This is a victory for the flexible minds who have engineered the agreements in the light of new industrial relationships. Such men as Governor Murphy of Michigan have served commendably in a calm but firm fight to bring about arbitration without bloodshed. Reactionaries steeped in archaic conceptions of divine property rights appealed for forcible eviction of the sit-down strikers even in the knowledge that such a course would lead to legalized murder. However, the courts and elected officials upon whom immediate responsibility would come sought the more intelligent solution. Although almost all articulate opinion agrees that the sit-down strike is illegal, no official invalidation has as yet been accepted by general courts. Judges and competent legal authorities viewing this new industrial phenomenon in all its ramifications are not so quick to jump at this simple hooligan interpretation



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IN DEEP

of the law. Nor has there been a lack of so-called expert opinion that has dared to say that perhaps the sit-down strike is legal.

Vested Interests

Leon Green, Dean of Northwestern University School of Law at Chicago, writing in *The New Republic*, injects an issue into the legal status of the sit-down strike that must be carefully weighed before any allocation of unqualified property rights is finally made:

"Both participating groups have contributed heavily to the joint enterprise of industry. The contribution of those who make up the corporate organization on the one hand are visualized in plant, machinery, raw materials and the like. They can be seen, recorded and valued in dollars. We call them property. On the other side are hundreds of personalities who have spent years training their hands and senses to specialized skills, who have set up habitations conveniently located to their work; who have become obligated to families and for the facilities necessary for maintaining them; who have ordered their lives and developed disciplines; all to the end that the properties essential to industry may be operated for the profit of the owner group and for their own livelihoods. Their outlays are not so visible, nor so easily measured in dollars; but in gross they may equal or even



Albany Evening News

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

exceed the contributions of the other group. Both groups are joint adventurers, as it were, in industrial enterprise. Both have and necessarily must have a voice in the matters of common concern. Both must have protection adequate to their interests as against the world at large as well as against the undue demands of each other."

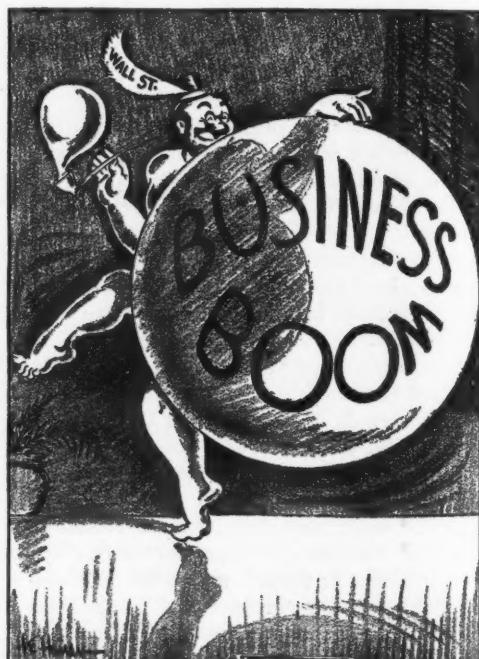
Despite these and other even more urgent considerations, popular legislators have risen with the tide of indignation against the ostensible unfairness of the sit-down. In Vermont the Legislature responded with a bill providing for a maximum sentence of two years imprisonment, or not more than \$1,000 fine, for sit-down strikers. This legislative action is, of course, only a beginning. From the concerted clamor that has risen for drastic labor laws a solution may be imminent paralleling the Trade Disputes and Trade Union Act, 1927, adopted in England. To avoid such a contingency, the C.I.O. must demonstrate its ability to discipline and control its members.

National Balance Sheet

Despite President Roosevelt's buoyant attitude toward the more hoary traditions of Governmental expenditures, the hope he expressed that the budget would strike a "layman's"

balance in the next fiscal year seems to be sinking rapidly. Advocates of a balanced budget have found ample fuel for their fires in recent developments. There has been no diminution in Governmental expenditures; the Treasury's \$840,000,000 anticipated revenue in this quarter has simmered down to \$700,000,000 actually in hand; the Government bond market has been experiencing a series of declines. All or none of these factors may be important. The fact that Government bonds are falling off has prompted many experts to predict that we have witnessed the end of a bull market in Government bonds and that we are moving rapidly toward a time when Government credit will be on a 3% basis. At present it is 2 3/4%, while in December the Government disposed of a block of long-term bonds at 2 1/2%. The result of this interest rise is obvious. To the Government a rise of 1% in long-term interest rates is almost prohibitive for many enterprises.

From many sources advice continues to pour into the Congress as to the best way of escaping a budget crisis. In sum the advice is the same: amendment of the corporate surplus tax, a reform of the capital gains tax, a broadening of the income tax base and,



United Features Syndicate, Inc.
BUBBLE DANCE

most necessary of all, immediate economies. Such suggestions are not happy ones as far as Congress is concerned. Although they favor some economies, they are more inclined to think of meeting the budget deficit by expanding the old nuisance taxes. However, even this tactic has its drawbacks. Congressional leaders remembering their loud and frequent promises—that there would be no new taxes—do not relish the prospect of again standing forsown before the public and their own voting constituents.

In the Senate Finance Committee, opposite political elements produced varying reports on the Government's financial position. Senator King predicted a deficit of from 4 to 5 billion, when the books are closed June 30. "Unless there is a curtailment," he said, "a situation will develop where it will be imperative on the Congress to levy heavier taxes, drastic though the present taxes are." Despite this gloomy foreboding Administration leaders do not concede the accuracy of Mr. King's figures. Senator Harrison, Chairman of the Finance Committee, stated again that no new tax increases are contemplated at this session of Congress.

Consumer vs. Durable Goods

Whatever the outcome of the budget unbalance, President Roosevelt again iterated



United Features Syndicate, Inc.

WHAT WILL IT GET US?

his economic philosophy, which in the social language is utilitarian—the greatest good to the greatest number. Following a visit from Fiorello La Guardia of New York, who protested in behalf of United States mayors the new PWA ruling which requires all Federal grants for Public Works projects to be spent on relief labor, the President announced the reason for this qualification. In the early stages of recovery, when heavy industries lagged behind, he had primed the pump. Now the situation was reversed. Consumer goods lagged while durable goods were skyrocketing to dangerous heights. Five-cent copper at the mine was selling for seventeen cents; steel had jumped by six dollars a ton. To the President and many another economist such a situation produced the "soft spot" ultimately leading to depression. Thus in the future the Federal Government will divert its billion dollar expenditures into the channels directly obligated to purchase consumer goods. The wisdom of this policy must pass unchallenged since neither layman nor expert has yet agreed on the preventive measures to rescue the national economy from the "next depression."

"Reliefers"

Among the many fiscal complaints against the Administration none causes greater an-



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LEARNING FAST

guish than the huge sums poured into relief and public work. Contemptuously the recipients of Government aid have been dubbed "relievers." Where this term originated is unimportant. But it reflects the reaction of those unsaddled by the responsibility of millions of unemployed men and women. Certainly the astronomical sums spent on the care of these people is a serious problem of our national economy. Perhaps it is an unsolvable problem. Such a problem exists in our national defense program. One billion dollars a year for armament is a staggering sum. So is the four billions yearly expenditure for relief. And yet they have the peculiar relationship of being in the same category since both may be eliminated only if hundreds of contingencies are simultaneously resolved.

Cost of War

Sixty billions for the last war with an ever rising total. Before the peace treaty was signed, American expenditures had risen to \$26,250,000,000 for munitions, equipment and

all the other direct expenditures. Between the treaty and April, 1937, another \$34,048,000,000 has been added for post-war loans to allies, interest paid on billions of debt and peacetime payments to war veterans amounting to twelve billion dollars in the last 16 years and scheduled to mount to greater heights in years to come. Other, indirect war costs are incalculable. The nation is still struggling to readjust an economy that was thrown out of joint during the War. And now the nation is spending over a billion a year for military expenditures.

Bernard Baruch laments the billions for defense and rearmament—billions which, if used in the ways of peace, would go far in abolishing slums and lessening poverty. But realistically he points out that nations are prosecuting an economic war from behind barricades of quotas and trade restrictions. "This is no day to fix the blame," says Mr. Baruch. "Peoples of all countries must pay no heed to warlike leaders. People must not look to war; they must think and act peace."

Pacts in the Melting Pot

WITH "collective security" no more than a bitter-sweet memory, European powers are now trying to recreate a new Locarno pact which, it is hoped, will rise Phoenix-like out of the ashes of the old. This is heralded as the last hope for a peace settlement in Europe. It will be limited in scope—being no more than a regional mutual assistance treaty—but its narrow confines are justified by the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread and by the nostalgic reminiscences of the pipingly peaceful days following the old pact.

There is no denying the importance of the project. At the same time, it has proved to be exceedingly difficult to negotiate. Nevertheless, the events of the last month have weakened the main obstacle to its achievement—German hostility to Russia and the Franco-Soviet pact; the bases of difference between the powers concerned have shifted.

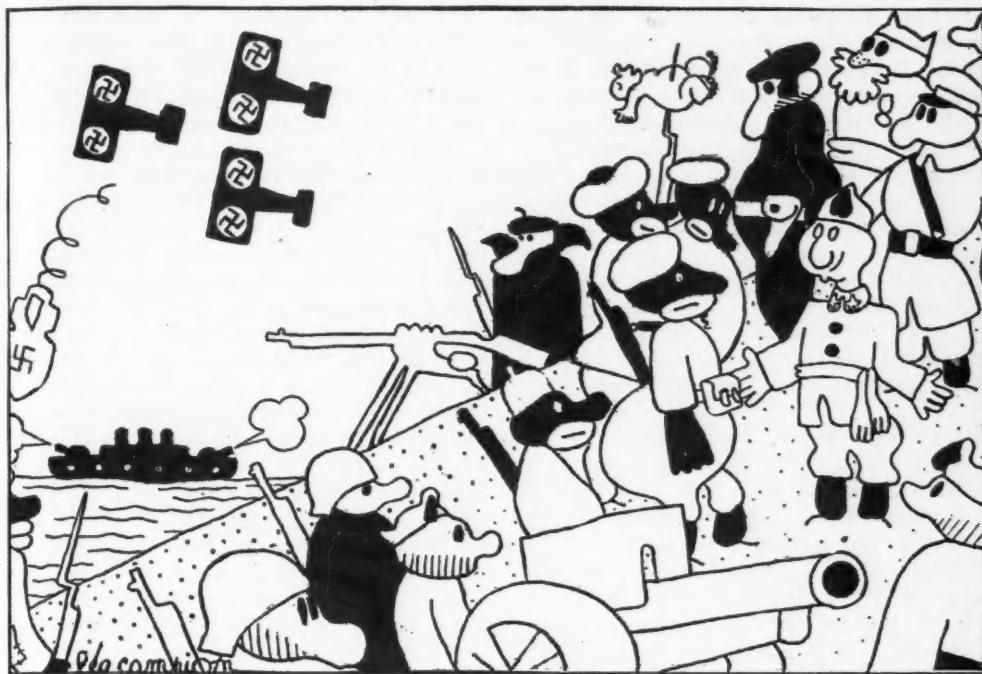
Mid-March saw the eventual fascist replies to the British memorandum of November 18. Berlin and Rome desired to confine the proposed treaty to non-aggression pacts among Germany, France, and Belgium; which would be guaranteed by Britain and Italy. Great

Britain, on the other hand, wants a reciprocal treaty which would guarantee her as well as the continental powers against unprovoked aggression.

A second basis of disagreement is the question of whether or not the projected treaty should fall within the purview of the League of Nations. It is the British desire that it should, with the consequence that the League Council should determine the guilty party in any act of aggression. To this the Germans say No, and propose instead that action should only be taken if Italy and Great Britain jointly certify that an act of aggression has been committed.

It is clear that the obstacles to the conclusion of the treaty still remain in Eastern Europe. Germany has apparently abandoned intentions of aggression to the westward. She is only interested in the neutrality of Belgium and Switzerland, so that she may confine her defensive plans to the French border; in fact, to her the scheme is essentially a means towards sewing up France on the west so that she may have as free a hand as possible in the east.

Great Britain and France agree to the idea



Réalités, Brussels

AN OLD FORMULA WHICH ALWAYS WORKS***Franco: "Soldiers, we must neglect nothing to save civilization"***

of Belgian and Swiss neutrality; they are willing to guarantee Belgian neutrality in return for the minor condition that Belgium fortifies her own frontier—a concession granted largely for the purpose of giving the friendly van Zeeland ammunition to use against the pro-German Rexists in the by-election of April 10 which he won so handily.

But they cannot agree to the preposition of Italy being one of the two powers to determine whether an act of aggression has taken place. It is quite certain that in the event of Germany trying to make a second Spain out of Czechoslovakia—the event which Europe now fears most—Mussolini would not hesitate a moment to declare that it was purely a domestic dispute, arising out of the Czech Government's repression of the Sudeten Germans, and therefore not subject to the terms of the treaty.

In short, the Italian and German proposals are merely a more subtle way of undermining the provisions of the Franco-Soviet agreement—no less effective for being less superficially apparent.

Weakening the Franco-Soviet Pact

Behind this, however, is a trend which may affect fundamentally the presently conflicting Rome-Berlin and Paris-Moscow axes.

France, for her part, is somewhat apprehensive concerning her obligations under the Franco-Soviet pact and its corollary—the agreement with Czechoslovakia. In the hypothetical case of Germany attacking Czechoslovakia, the French would not fall over themselves in their anxiety to help the latter without some assurance of British support; Mr. Eden's definition of those causes for which Britain would fight, announced last November, and the general tendency towards isolationism in British foreign policy indicate that this condition would not be fulfilled.

This situation does not satisfy the Soviet. Furthermore, the powers-that-be in Moscow are confident in the strength of their armed forces; French help means to them much less than it did at the time the pact was signed. And, as their own power has increased, the strategic position of the democratic powers has progressively deteriorated as the latter have given way to the fascist bluff. Today,

therefore, the Soviets see little future in the prospect of pulling democratic chestnuts out of the European fire; they are just about ready to tell the owners of those chestnuts to show a little more courage and foresight in looking after their own possessions.

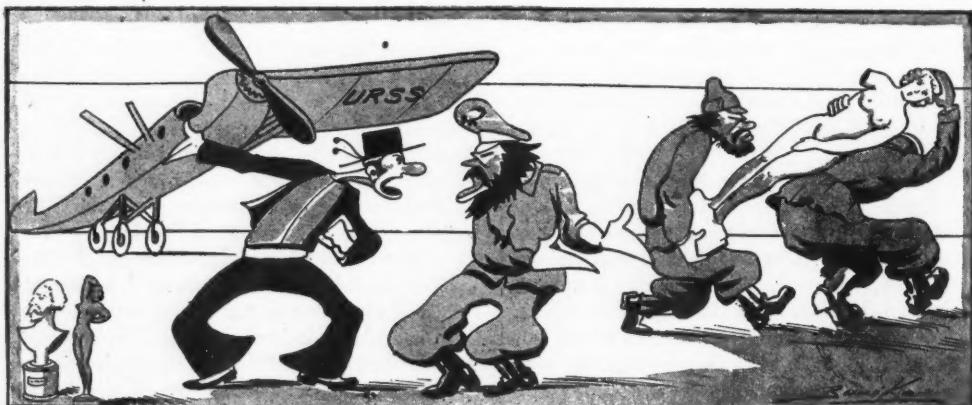
Hence, Moscow demands that, if the pact is to be maintained, it should be placed upon a more effective basis and that it should be reinforced by what the Soviets regard as its necessary corollary, a military alliance. A concrete evidence of this potential rift was the recall of the Russian Minister to Paris, Vladimir Potemkin, for his inability to conclude the desired military agreement.

Growth of Military Influence

More damaging to the Franco-Soviet entente, however, is the growing possibility of a German-Russian rapprochement. On the face of it, the eventuality appears fantastic in the light of the fanatic fascist-communist propaganda wars that have flared across the face of Europe. But stranger events have occurred. There are historical precedents and geographical reasons for it. And, as the German economy has become increasingly socialized, the Russians have become more nationalistic. But the chief reason for the potential rapprochement is that of military strategy. Both the Russian and German army

heads are said to favor cooperation; ideological differences do not worry them, and there is the pleasing prospect of sharing the military hegemony of Europe. The last month has seen an increase of their power over the political destinies of their respective nations. Observers attach importance to the reconciliation (reportedly brought about by the Reichswehr) in Germany between Chancellor Hitler and General Ludendorff, who is known as an opponent of a military entanglement with Italy and a protagonist of an understanding with Russia. Colonel General Goering is also said to be in favor of the same policy. In Russia, the arrest of Henry Yagoda, the former head of the OGPU, is attributed to the influence of Defense Commissar Voroshiloff, who is on friendly terms with the German Army. Behind these moves, there must also be considered the Reichswehr's realization of the failure of German airplanes and tanks in Spain and its growing appreciation of the strength of the Red forces. And, again, there are insistent reports of secret conferences between Dr. Schacht and Russian economists and between German and Soviet military commanders.

The trend is not yet conclusive; but the conceivable eventuality of the Reichswehr and the Red Army deciding to dominate Europe is significant to the highest degree.



Il 420, Florence

EXCHANGE OF MERCHANDISE (*The Spanish Reds are repaying Soviet war material with works of art.*)

"What is the use of that aeroplane? It has a wing short."
"That is to pay for the statue which has no arms."

Spanish Casualties: Two Illusions

SINCE the outbreak of the Spanish civil war, current opinion has held tenaciously to two beliefs: firstly, that substantial but not excessive Italian and German intervention would ensure a rebel victory, and secondly that, even if the loyalists entertained a hope of victory, it would be posited on assistance from Russia and France.

These theories, predominantly held by the British Government, were partly responsible for the non-intervention scheme, which looked to an early fascist triumph. And, in the Anglo-Italian Mediterranean agreement of January 2, it is becoming more apparent that England consented to a "stiffening" of the insurgent ranks by Italian fascists sufficient to bring about the downfall of Madrid.

March and April, however, saw these two illusions among the most notable casualties of the war. The change in the military situation effected during the short period since last November has been little short of the unbelievable. The virtually certain rebel victory has turned to a strong probability of a Government triumph. The loyalists have now taken the offensive, and, although ultimate victory is by no means certain, it is indisputable that, on the other hand, the rebels' chances of cutting the Burgos, Valencia, and Aragon highways to isolate Madrid, of seizing the city itself, especially in the face of probable attempts to relieve it from the outside, of subduing Valencia, not to mention Catalonia, the Basque provinces, and Asturias, can be dismissed as negligible.

The rout of the rebels at Brihuega on March 16-20 will probably be chronicled as the crucial point in this strategic reversal. Certainly it was there that the believed invincibility of the invading fascists suffered its most bitter blow. A reported 30,000 Italians were decisively beaten on this sector of the front; at the same time, loyalist forces were making headway in Cordoba and towards Burgos, even though the Basques suffered some reverses.

The insurgent defeat—with consequent loss of Italian military prestige—can be attributed to poor morale; volunteers for colonization in Ethiopia, who suddenly found themselves landed on the Spanish battlefield, could scarcely be expected to demonstrate any great enthusiasm for the ruse, to which a large

number of desertions attested. And the conflict within the rebel ranks was further confirmed by the outbreak of mutiny in Spanish Morocco and Malaga.

The New Spanish Army

A more important element in the changed fortunes of war, however, has been the development of the People's Army and Air Force. While the International Brigade, composed of anti-fascists of varied nations, bore the brunt of the siege of last November, there has taken place since January a reorganization of the Government forces. Mixed brigades, in which a preponderance of Spaniards fight with an experienced nucleus of foreign volunteers, have come to surpass in importance the International Brigade, and purely Spanish units are also being built up. The command has been unified under General Miaja, and today the People's Army is powerful, skilled, disciplined—and Spanish. A similar process is under way in the Air Force; Spaniards now share honors evenly with French, Russian, and American pilots, and training campaigns promise that they will soon exceed them. Paralleling this latter development has been the establishment of



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

**"YOU'RE NOT DOING SO WELL,
GEN. FRANCO"**



United Features Syndicate, Inc.
WISE BIRDS

loyalist air supremacy. In the earliest days of the war, there was an approximate equality between the combatant forces. From the middle of August until November, the rebels enjoyed a marked superiority in the air, which reached a climax when the last machine

left to the defenders of Madrid failed to leave the ground. In early November, the Government began to acquire more planes and soon enjoyed a slight superiority in a campaign chiefly devoted to single combats and bombing expeditions. The present stage came into being with the loyalist counter-attack on the Guadalajara front; planes, many presumably of Russian and French origin, cooperated with the infantry by bombing and machine-gunning the rebel second lines and front bases in preparation for the infantry's advance. According to reports, this form of fighting more nearly approximated popular futuristic conceptions of modern warfare than any fighting yet known.

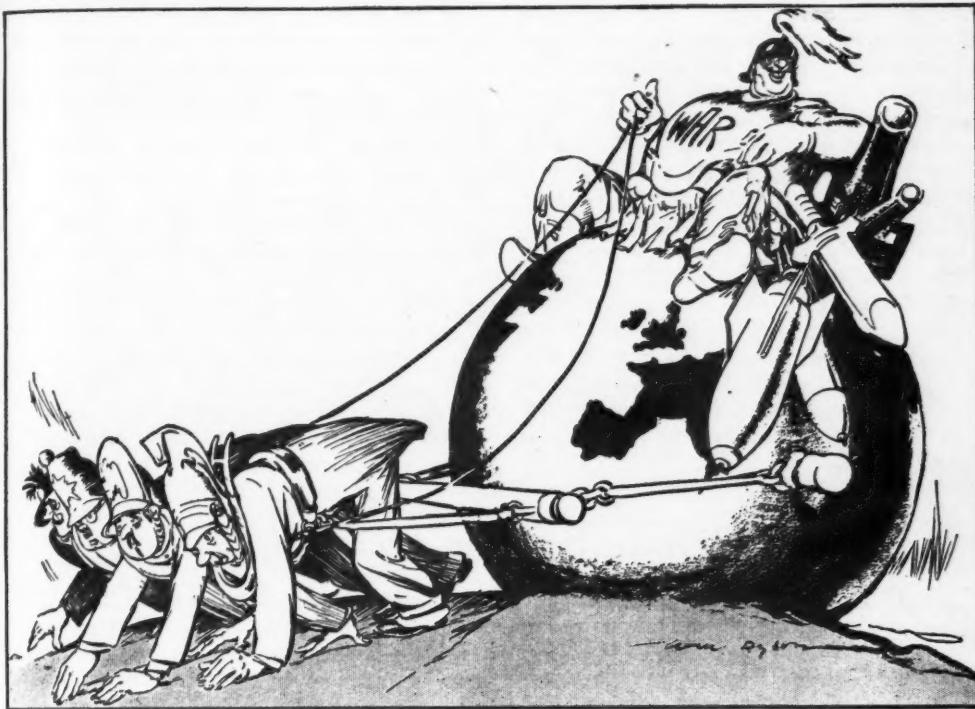
From the international point of view, the amazing development of the Spanish loyalist fighting forces can be expected to have two results: In the first place, it is now clear that the only result of further foreign intervention will be to prolong the struggle; only on the condition that Germany and Italy send assistance to Franco on a completely unprecedented scale does there seem to be any possibility that intervention can change the outcome of the war. Secondly, there now exists in Europe a new and powerful armed force, of strong anti-fascist leanings and probably with a close relationship to Soviet Russia; this cannot be left out of any future calculations of the political balance on the continent.

Italy Courts Yugoslavia

ON MARCH 26, Italy and Yugoslavia brought to an end a period of potential hostility and signed a five-year treaty. On April 1, the President of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Benes, visited Belgrade, and three days later the Little Entente met and considered what damage—if any—had been suffered by the partnership as a result of the Italo-Yugoslav agreement. Nobody has yet decided, but the straws in the wind indicate that, as an attempt to extend the fascist entente to southeastern Europe, Rome's latest move has little chance of substantial success.

The terms of the treaty in question provide that Italy and Yugoslavia will respect each other's boundaries and will remain neutral in the event of either of them being attacked by a third power. The second article reads:

"In case of international complications, and if both states agree that their common interests are or might be menaced, they bind themselves to seek agreement on measures which they will take to protect those interests," which is believed to cover among other things a Hapsburg restoration in Austria or an Austrian union with Germany—events opposed respectively by Belgrade and Rome. The two nations also agree not to harbor subversive movements aimed against each other's territory or political régime; this settles the Yugoslav quarrel with Italy for protecting members of the Ustachi gang which conspired to kill King Alexander. The fifth article provides for improved trade relations, which will assist the export of Yugoslavian timber, cattle, and agricultural products to



Daily Herald, London

War Minister Duff-Cooper says draught-horses are out-moded in war. But War isn't worrying!

Italy. Additional protocols guarantee the independence of Albania and the rights of Serb, Croat, and Slovene minorities in Italy and Italian minorities in Yugoslavia.

The implications of the pact will be determined by the future, but the possibilities are shown by the past. Italy is a member of the fascist entente; by the treaty signed last October, Rome and Berlin agreed, among other things, to cooperate in the Balkans. They are at present cooperating in Spain. Italy is also a signatory of the Rome Protocols which bind her with Austria and Hungary. Yugoslavia, for her part, is a member of the Little Entente, which—in contrast to Italy—is pro-French and pro-League, and which was brought into existence to oppose Hapsburg restoration, territorial revision, and German aggression.

Two Views of the Treaty

One reading of the Italo-Yugoslav treaty is that it foreshadows a break in the Rome-Berlin axis. On March 4, Premier Stoyadinovitch of Yugoslavia went out of his way to praise England and France, stated that

Italian relations had improved, and was somewhat less than friendly towards Germany. Furthermore, Austria had suddenly turned away from Germany; Chancellor Schuschnigg had visited Prague with a view to establishing better relations between Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia; he had removed a pro-Nazi minister from his cabinet coincidentally with the papal encyclical condemning Germany for the breach of the concordat—a move that was probably known to Rome. Considering the expensive failure of Italian intervention in Spain, these moves would indicate that Mussolini wishes to bring together the Rome bloc and the Little Entente, settling the southeastern European problem on a basis agreeable to Great Britain and France.

The second view is that the treaty is a direct attempt to detach Yugoslavia from the Little Entente and bring her within the sphere of German-Italian influence in order to break up the Little Entente as a democratic, pro-French unit. It is held that this is in line with established fascist policy. Italy is openly trying to promote further an agreement between Yugoslavia and Hungary and to con-

clude an agreement herself with Rumania. This would leave the remaining members of the Little Entente badly out on a limb. It is argued that, by lining up with the most avowed enemy of Hapsburg restoration, Mussolini has deprived Austria of the chance of resorting to her last defense against *Anschluss*, permission to use which Chancellor Schuschnigg had intended to seek from Rome and which he had already gained from Great Britain.

The latter is the more likely of the two analyses. But that does not exclude both from being right as regards Mussolini's intentions; for his diplomatic sword is double-edged, and he has consistently assumed an equivocal position in order to be able to drive the hardest bargain with the highest bidder.

As far as the results, as contrasted with the intentions, are concerned, the treaty promises to fall short of fascist hopes. Despite its obvious worry, the Little Entente conference reported officially that all was well with the Little Entente, the League, and its friendship with France. But much more significant was Dr. Benes' reception in Belgrade; as a symbol of Little Entente unity, he was accorded an unprecedently enthusiastic popular welcome, and the leaders of the parliamentary parties existent before the dictatorship issued a declaration to the effect that the majority of their countrymen were opposed to Premier Stoyadinovitch's pro-fascist foreign policy. In short, the people of Yugoslavia have no desire to become appendages along the Rome-Berlin axis, even if their Premier has.

Britain Seeks a Formula

BEHIND the pomp and pageantry of the Coronation ceremonies, the statesmen of the British Commonwealth of Nations will be spending serious hours trying to devise a formula to ensure unity in the face of a world crisis. That will be no easy task.

Before the Great War, the problem of Imperial unity did not exist; the Dominions

were subordinate to Great Britain, they had no independent control of their foreign policies, and common action was simply determined by a word from Downing Street. Their marked contribution to the Allied victory did much to increase their own national consciousness and to change their previous position of inferiority vis-à-vis Great Britain. In 1917, a resolution of the Imperial Conference of that year read that "any readjustment" of constitutional relations "should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth." The Dominions were represented at the peace conferences as separate entities and were granted League memberships—although they were listed together under the title of "The British Empire." Canada's success in persuading England not to renew the Anglo-Japanese treaty in 1921, her refusal to send troops to fight the Turks at Chanak in 1922 without authority from her own parliament, the rights achieved by the Dominions to separate diplomatic representation and treaty negotiation, were all steps along the road to autonomy. The process was finally consummated by the Statute of Westminster in 1931 (see *As Britain Crowns a King*). The position then was that, although Great Britain held the diplomatic leadership, the Dominions were completely autonomous and on a theoretically equal footing with her.

With the removal of the Dominions' position of dependence upon England, the post-War



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problem arose of how to find a basis for common action between independent nations, united only by a common crown and a common tradition and with widely differing geographical interests. Support of the League of Nations supplied an answer. The Commonwealth's objective was peace; this was not for any necessarily idealistic reasons, but for the plain practical fact that the British Navy no longer possessed its world-wide supremacy, the Dominions were incapable of defending themselves against any major threat; the position of Australia, isolated in the Pacific with the British fleet concentrated in European waters, was symbolic. Hence, the members of the Commonwealth found a common interest in supporting the League; collective security promised the safety which they could not achieve as individual nations.

Issues at the Conference

This theory, however, worked better in theory than in practice as the League was gradually torpedoed, with Great Britain under the National Government playing no significant role in attempting to salve the wreckage of Geneva. Today, the League has no existence as a political reality. It is also clear that the National Government realizes this, whatever professions it may occasionally make to the contrary. The problem before the present

Imperial Conference, therefore, is to find some basis of unity between the extremes of forming the Commonwealth into a defensive and offensive military alliance and of the Dominions simply following their own geographical interests as independent units.

Biasing their conclusions towards the former solution, the delegates will find the present British rearmament program as the most convincing argument; it promises to provide an umbrella under which they may safely scramble for security. But, as counterweights to this, there are several considerations: In the first place, there is the question of the costs of these arms. Dominions will not presumably derive the benefits unless they make their respective contributions; those contributions they will not make unless they are satisfied with British foreign policy. Just here comes a rub. The British Government has displayed in its foreign policy a clear predilection for the support of purely national interests rather than of imperial ones; its policy in the Italo-Ethiopian and Spanish civil wars demonstrate that; it has not even shown a marked solicitude for the support of democracy, to which most of the Dominions are wedded. As a consequence, large elements in the Dominions fail to see where their own national interests can be furthered by a close tie-up with the Mother Country, and,

are not only opposing the idea of a military alliance but also demanding the right of neutrality in case of war.

These issues will underlie all the deliberations of the Conference, and sentiment and

tradition, supported by a huge arms program, will be counterposed to separatist nationalist interests and liberal dislikes of the National Government's policy in the search for a new formula of unity.

Disciplining Japanese Politicians

WHEN the Japanese Army abandoned an ambitious military venture in Inner Mongolia and trekked eastward back into Northern Chahar and Manchukuo many observers were reassured that Japan had changed tactics in dealing with China. For the first time in six years it appeared that Japan would conciliate China rather than force her. Premier Senjuro Hayashi had promised a "friendship drive" on China, and many hailed the military turn-about in Mongolia as concrete evidence that the Premier and his Cabinet possessed the power to bring such a policy to fruition. Subsequent events, however, proved this hope to be false.

On the last day of March the Japanese militarists turned the heat on the civilian politicians. Without warning, Premier Senjuro Hayashi and his Cabinet of army puppets dissolved the Diet and ordered new elections "to promote an awakening in the political parties." Few informed persons were taken in by this euphemistic explanation. Since the opening of the Diet on Jan. 20 the military had ridden roughshod over the squealing political body, shoving through the most important Government bills including, of course, a monstrous appropriation for armaments. In every way the military had received satisfaction from the politicians. Their quarrel was not with the final result but with the speed with which the final result had been attained. The two chief parties, the Minseito and Seiyukai, in their pressing desire to revise the electoral law, which in its present

form gives the Government almost complete control of parliamentary elections, had had the temerity to play a little politics with one of the army's pet measures. In order to speed the election reform through the House of Peers the political parties in the lower house delayed action on a law designed to preserve military secrets. Japanese militarists denounced this political playfulness as rank "sabotage." To punish the parliamentarians the military dissolved the cabinet and sent the politicians out to face the nasty job of getting themselves elected again.

Unpleasant Surprise

The elections will be held April 30, and there are many who believe that the final outcome will turn the punishment of the politicians into a direct rebuke for the military high command. The Japanese citizen has not forgotten the army revolt of February 1936. Time has not restored his faith in the omnipotence of the army. Hidden beneath the carefully filtered official news and opinions the citizen finds much to disquiet him. As a tangible evidence that all is not well with the Rising Sun he has the galling burden of taxes and, most disheartening, the memory of the revolt and martial law. Some observers predict that it is this citizen and his fellows who, despite official pressure during the campaign and at the polling places, will return the new Diet more liberal, and with greater courage to divest the military of some of its power.



NOISE OVER THE NAZIS

*Propaganda is hurled across the Atlantic
and is a threat to our neutrality program*

By THE EDITORS

IT WAS ironical that while Congress was soberly debating neutrality measures designed to surround the United States with an impenetrable hedge of olive branches, the Mayor of New York had set off a wave of unprecedented belligerent hysteria against Nazi Germany. Enthusiasts of all political colors jumped without discrimination on to a careening war chariot, the hectic direction of which was unpredictable, save that it would certainly never follow the narrow primrose path of pure neutrality. This irony is accentuated by the absence of any fundamental reason for antagonism between Germany and the United States as nations.

All of which would suggest the desirability of a diplomatic stock-taking on the part of the nations concerned. Americans cannot and should not be expected to condone the uncouth barbarities of Nazism as it finds itself today. But they can and should set the problem in its perspective and draw a reasonable distinction between National Socialism as an impermanent and extraordinary form of government and Germany as a continuing nation.

It is easy enough at this date to blame the Treaty of Versailles for poisoning the relations between Germany and the rest of the world. It happens, however, that that venal settlement *was* made and the post-War repression of Germany carried to a point at which it provoked a desperate reaction in 1933. There is no solution to be found in lamentations which inevitably start with the statement "If only . . ." The situation consequent upon the Treaty must be accepted as an established, if unfortunate, fact. Nevertheless, America's relationship

to post-War Europe and Germany in particular sheds light upon the present.

The general terms of the Treaty of Versailles are too well known to bear iteration; in the brilliantly courageous work, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, Mr. J. M. Keynes asserted as early as 1920:

The Treaty includes no provisions for the economic rehabilitation of Europe,—nothing to make the defeated Central Empires into good neighbors, nothing to stabilize the new States of Europe, nothing to reclaim Russia; nor does it promote in any way a compact of economic solidarity among the Allies themselves; no arrangement was reached at Paris for restoring the disordered finances of France and Italy, or to adjust the systems of the Old World and the New.

Describing the economic dislocation of a continent already overcrowded and unable to feed itself, he continues:

The danger confronting us, therefore, is the rapid depression of the standard of life of the European populations to a point which will mean actual starvation for some. . . . Men will not always die quietly. For starvation, which brings to some lethargy and a helpless despair, drives other temperaments to the nervous instability of hysteria and to a mad despair. And these in their distress may overturn the remnants of organization, and submerge civilization itself in their attempts to satisfy desperately the overwhelming needs of the individual.

Only for a brief period did it seem probable that the compelling logic of this prophecy might be recognized. That was during the days of the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan, of Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson, of Aristide Briand, and of Gustav Stresemann, when it seemed that the victors might abate their demands upon a Germany then willing to cooperate. But Stresemann's death in 1929 was more than

symbolic, and with the onset of the depression the period of cooperation passed. Thus the privileges that men of the ilk of Sir John Simon, obsessed by the letter of the law, refused to concede a still reasonable Germany, were grasped by main force by the fanatical desperation of the National Socialists, who came to power in 1933. And by January 1937 all the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles imposing disabilities upon the Reich's domestic sovereignty had been swept away by unilateral and bitter action; the Nazis had, in fact, fulfilled the pledges upon which they were elected and cemented their position by restoring Germany to the leading position in Europe to which her resources and extent entitled her.

The U. S. A. and Post-War Europe

Of all the Allies, the United States was the only nation which failed to gain any substantial strategic advantage from a peace settlement essentially concerned with the European balance of power. And, from a more abstract point of view, the Great War was a notoriously unsuccessful attempt to "make the world safe for democracy."

It is a further measure of the United States' lack of a vital interest in the primary aim of the peace treaties that this country never became a party to the determined attempts to deny Germany its natural position on the continent. The Versailles Treaty and the Covenant of the League were rejected, and separate treaties of peace signed with Germany and Austria in August, 1921. Further American participation in European affairs was all in the direction of mitigating the onerous conditions laid upon the Reich. The Dawes Plan, which came into force in 1924, provided for the evacuation of the Ruhr, attempted to reduce the payment of reparations to something approaching a practical basis, and represented the first constructive effort to restore the German economy. The Young Plan, ratified in 1930, placed Germany's obligations at a definite figure, abolished foreign control of Germany's affairs, and reduced greatly the system of payment in

kind. The Hoover Moratorium of 1931 provided for the postponement of all inter-governmental debts and reparations for one year—a period which was subsequently extended indefinitely by the force of circumstances.

If this attitude is contrasted with the simultaneous American stand on the war debts—the payment of which the United States rightly demanded on moral grounds but which her tariff policy made impossible for economic reasons—it is clear that it was less a policy of altruistic generosity to a defeated foe than an implicit admission that a strong Germany comprised no threat to the United States. In short, American self-interest saw no necessity for the artificial maintenance of French hegemony in Europe. Nor are the American strategic lifelines threatened at any point by Germany, in the way that, for instance, they are by Japan in the Pacific.

Turning to economic matters, we find that in 1933, trade with Germany accounted for approximately 6 per cent of the United States' total of exports and imports, with a substantial balance in the favor of this country. With the possible exception of South America (where England is an even stronger competitor), there is no fundamental economic clash between the two nations, and the relatively small proportion of German trade tends to diminish the significance of the present conflict between the present American multilateral trade policy and the German conception of economic isolation and bilateral bartering; the unconditional most-favored-nation treaty, signed by the two nations in 1923 is a better index of their fundamental economic interests.

Similarly, when we consider racial relationships, it is apparent that there is no inherent conflict. The assimilation of varied races has been one of the essential conditions of American growth; this country has shared in Germany's cultural heritage, and nearly seven million persons of German extraction have fitted into the American pattern. There is, however, one qualification to this assertion: Americans



European

OVEN PROPAGANDA: Caricatures have always been an effective medium for propaganda. The figures shown above were modeled in toast crusts and bread crumbs by a New York baker and placed in his shop windows on Madison Avenue.

have stressed their anglo-saxon allegiance, and when it has been a question of anglo-saxon or teuton dominance in Europe have preferred to back the former. At present, though, this question does not exist.

To sum up: There is no strategic, economic or racial basis for an inherent conflict between the United States and Germany as nations. The recent antagonisms are ideological and exist as between two different conceptions of government. Americans resent National Socialism for its savagely anti-democratic nature, for its barbarous treatment of minorities, particularly the Jews, and for the threat it presents to the maintenance of peace. And, as Nazi propaganda pours into Scandinavia, Poland, Belgium, the Danubian countries, and even

Palestine, as Herr Hitler pursues his pan-German dream, they begin to think of the potential effects upon the many Germans living in the United States.

These ideological differences will not abate so long as Nazism is in the saddle, and Americans cannot be expected to sympathize with the present German régime. The question is, however, What can Americans do about it? The answer becomes more clear after an analysis of the actual effects of Nazism upon the relationships between the two nations.

America Reacts to Nazism

In 1933, when Hitler came to power assuming the title role of *der Führer*, many Germans who had bitterly opposed him sat

back to watch the responsibilities of the high office gradually modify the man's blatant vulgarity. But the reverse of their wishes came true. Hitler meant business. In April 1933 he clamped a wide-spread boycott on Jewish merchants. The ensuing months witnessed the application of Nazi action to correct those intolerable situations they had denounced in their climb to power.

In America, where one hundred and twenty million people had been whipped into a febrile crusade to make the world safe for democracy in 1917, the anguish of the Nazi victims found quick sympathy. Atheists and Catholics, communists and reactionaries banded together to scream in pain whenever a report drifted in that some Jewish gentleman had had his beard tweaked in Berlin, or that a man who looked like a Jew had been locked up in some concentration camp. Even the masses of Jews abandoned their ancient policy of pacific resistance to persecution; they openly advocated retaliation. What weapons they employed in the United States to combat Nazism in Germany are well known.

Today, among politically conscious people Herr Hitler outranks even the latest movie sensation as a topic of conversation. In every discussion the same theme is played out with variations only in the caliber of intellectuality or ignorance. The intelligentsia arrive at the same conclusions as the unlearned tabloid reader: that the world would be well rid of Hitler, and that the German people are just spoiling for another good licking. Authorities, whether American professors or emigré artists and scientists, are indiscriminately quoted testifying to the perfidy of the Brown Shirts. In the fever to condemn all things German it is even forgotten that during the World War there also was no lack of authoritative talent to sanctify the bloody butchery on both sides.

With this anti-German spirit rising, the recent declaration of neutrality by the Congress of the United States seems a futile if bold attempt to utilize the experience gathered from the last war. It is a proclamation

of defeatism and a belligerent gage thrown down to the future. However, in effect, the American citizens promise to be neutral in word and deed.

But nothing under the sun will persuade any peoples and least of all the American people to think neutral. Whatever conflict arises the alleged neutrals will pick a winner and cheer him on. Presently, however, we are doing something even more dangerous; we are picking a villain—a German villain.

Already impassioned groups have reported successes in an open economic warfare against the German people. From a relatively satisfactory export trade to the United States of \$177,000,000 in 1930, German exports had been depressed to \$77,740,000 in 1935 and showed signs of further depression in 1936. Anti-Nazi groups boast of this economic victory. The Jews rally with the cry that they are retaliating against the persecution of their race. They proclaim the boycott a humanitarian movement and invite the Catholics and the Protestants to join in since the latest Nazi developments would seem to indicate that Hitler and his men are readying something unpleasant for all religious and racial groups alien to the new German philosophy.

But more irritating than the boycott is the constant clamor raised by enraged groups of American Jews, democrats, liberals, communists, socialists, and troublemakers against the German people. Of course, they qualify their utterances with the assurance that it is only Hitler and the Nazis against whom they have leveled their hatred. Yet is it possible to attack a segment of a nation without attacking the whole nation? Recently Mayor La Guardia of New York lent himself and the prestige of his office to the anti-German outcry, by proposing that an effigy of Hitler be exhibited in a "chamber of horrors." The Nazi press was quick to respond with an intemperate protest of such fury and degeneracy as to imply that something more than just injured pride was at stake.

Quite naturally Hitler and his subordinates have made a determined if clumsy

effort to offset the hatred engendered in the United States against their policies at home and abroad. With the assistance of a few American-German societies which numerically represent only a small proportion of the 6,900,000 persons of German extraction in the United States, the Nazis have spread propaganda in support and vindication of the Hitler government. In 1934, the House Committee on Un-American Activities collected an impressive sum of evidence establishing beyond doubt that the Nazis have actually attempted to extend their complete system of control to people of German origin in the United States. It was shown that during a rather stormy career since 1933 the Nazi drive on American-Germans has made little headway. Without the weapons of coercion so effectively used in the Fatherland the Nazis have had to content themselves with an educational program hardly persuasive enough to make the average German abandon American democracy. Through an organization called the "Friends of Germany" with some dozen local units in a number of large cities the Nazis sought to familiarize the American-German with the real "facts" concerning the Hitler régime. They have been known to parade and drill their members in uniforms resembling the Nazi regalia, and they have established a number of youth camps.

In addition to the Nazi Party, which has recently almost completely disintegrated in America, the German Government acquired another already established organization to supplement the "Friends" known as the "Steel Helmets." Upon Hitler's ascent to power this organization began to take orders directly from Berlin. With guns borrowed from the National Guard, the New York unit drilled in uniform and participated in other exercises calculated to keep old German army traditions untarnished. Investigation has shown them to be hardly a menace to American institutions.

Perhaps the most vital link between the Nazi organizations in Germany and in America has been the German ship lines. Despite official denials of Nazi activity, customs

guards have seized propaganda from crew members; one package contained thousands of letters which were to be mailed in New York.

As a whole, the activities of the "Friends" have been something of a dismal failure. They have rarely missed an opportunity to discredit themselves from the blatant "Heil Hitlers" shouted during an investigation of their organization by the House Committee to their stupid flirtation with the "Silver Shirts." Under the auspices of the self-styled American Hitler, William D. Pelley, and his "Silver Shirts" organization, a former employee of the North German Lloyd distributed violent pamphlets among which was one that attacked Roosevelt by tracing his ancestors to a group of Dutch Jews.

All the German propaganda, however, has not been so crude. The I. G. Dyeworks paid Ivy Lee and his associates \$25,000 a year for advice on the best manner and means of making Hitler more acceptable to the American people. Bluntly Mr. Lee informed them that Nazi policy could never be made palatable. He advised them as a last resort to persuade American foreign correspondents to send home more favorable reports on Nazi policies. Recent newspaper dispatches would demonstrate the futility of this stratagem. Another organization which, after a few preliminary crudities, turned to American guidance was the German Tourist Information. At first it simply denied all the nasty rumors pouring out of Germany. Later it hired Byoir & Associates, an American propaganda firm. Byoir toned down its pamphlets and ignored people's hostile attitudes by innocuously publicizing the charm and economy of traveling in Germany.

The latest reports of Nazi activity in the United States were recently presented by Congressman Dickstein, a gentleman who has spent much time in the last few years protecting Americans from alien bogey-men. Mr. Dickstein reports that today the chief Nazi organization in America is the German-American League led by one Fritz Kuhn, a chemist on leave from the Ford automobile works in Detroit. Its nation-

wide membership is about 10,000 of whom not more than 2000 own the uniforms of the *Ordnungsdienst*.

Although Representative Dickstein insists on calling them "Storm Troopers," the uniformed members are hardly anything more than ushers at various meetings held under the banners of both the Swastika and the American flag. From Dickstein's report it appears that instead of the Nazis subverting American democracy American democracy has subverted the Nazis. Although equipped with the full complement of Nazi ideas the missionaries to America have failed utterly to persuade the population of German origin to combine in Nazi formations. Without the truncheon and the concentration camp they are at some disadvantage. As a result the American Nazi movement has failed to attain a status of much more importance than the dozen or more hyphenated societies among the Chicago and New York Germans devoted to perpetuating the ties of the Fatherland.

Wherever these American Nazis meet they usually create a stir with vehement denunciations of the "lies in the press." As an inseparable ritual they circulate "the protocols of the elders of Zion," and the Nazi creed that "communism is a scheme to take the property of the Christians and give it to the Jews." However in Manhattan the meetings of the German-American League entice fewer than 2000 of the 200,000 German residents. Somewhat discouraged, the local Fuehrer Fritz Kuhn is now putting his faith in an appeal for unity among the German societies.

Conclusions

This survey prompts several conclusions. The first is that the mutual relationship between the two countries would be infinitely improved if each one decided to mind its own business to substantially larger degree than at present. Americans would thank the Nazis for keeping their fingers out of a pie that is not their own. It is unlikely that the Nazis would take this advice; but it is still true that the American Nazi movement has had a laughingly small im-

pact upon politics in this country and that, if the democratic tradition here is threatened, it will be in danger from indigenous and not foreign forces. By the same token, the American desire to alleviate the position of the Jews in Germany is understandable and praiseworthy. It can be fulfilled in certain concrete ways—as, for example, by granting a refuge for exiles. But nothing will be achieved by spleenetic anti-German outbursts which, if anything, only serve to worsen the position of the Jews under the Nazis and which simply allow America to be duped into a European family squabble by falling for the propaganda of the anti-German side. And such measures as economic boycotts merely increase Nazi desperation.

The truth of the matter, as far as this ideological friction between the two countries is concerned, is that there is nothing that the United States can do to change the present German Government—short of intervening in Europe to an extent that would outdo all former efforts of such a nature in South America. American opposition to fascist principles is praiseworthy, but only strictly effective within the boundaries of this country. If this is a counsel of impotence, Americans can find justification in the facts that German Nazism presents no serious threat to this political scene and, furthermore, that its native characteristics will necessarily limit its spread in Europe; its essentially German traits and its fallacious economic basis will prove more effective stumbling blocks than all the propagandist imprecations breathed from abroad.

Finally, Americans who realize that a European war cannot leave them unscathed and resent Nazism as a threat to peace, should apportion the blame for this pathological growth among the nations who helped bring it about through their greed—and Americans have not themselves been entirely innocent. For it is premature and undiscriminating for a professedly pacific people to deliver quick-trigger judgments upon a whole nation with whom there is no inherent basis for antagonism—for strategic, racial, or economic reasons.

Japan's Halfway House to Fascism

*There is just enough freedom of speech
for the bold to say that there is none*

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

TWO grave crises within the term of a single year indicate that a process of ferment is at work within the Japanese body politic. The first and more spectacular of these crises was in February, 1936. A group of fanatical young officers, followed by about a thousand troops of the First and Third Regiments of the Tokyo Garrison, assassinated two of Japan's most eminent senior statesmen, the Minister of Finance, Korekiyo Takahashi, and the Lord Privy Seal, Viscount Saito, together with a General, Jotaro Watanabe, whose views were considered too moderate. They made unsuccessful attempts on the lives of other public men, the Premier, Admiral Okada, only escaping because his brother-in-law was mistaken for him and killed in his stead. The rebellious troops barricaded themselves in a number of public buildings in the centre of Tokyo, including the War Ministry and the Metropolitan Police Board.

Their surrender was only brought about after four days of nerve-racking, inconclusive negotiations and after overwhelming numbers of loyal troops with tanks and artillery had been brought up to surround their positions. The February 26 outbreak was the climax of a series of actual and attempted acts of murder and violence, carried out by extreme nationalists within and without the Army. The professed motivation of these acts was discontent with the insufficient attention of the Government to questions of national defense, with the corruption of the political parties, and with the failure of the Government to relieve the destitution of the people, especially of the peasants. The psychology of the young officers who were mainly implicated in

these outbreaks was a curious mixture of political reactionism and social radicalism.

The February 26 revolt was a shock to the senior Army officers, as well as to the whole nation. Political assassination *per se*, if it could plausibly be represented as inspired by patriotic motives, has always been regarded rather lightly in Japan. A cynic might even suggest that the Japanese public acts on the theory that the political murderer is always right. In many previous cases there was more visible sympathy with the assassin than with his victim.

But there were two elements in the February 26 affair which seriously undermined the foundations of Japanese military discipline. Troops were moved without the authorization of the supreme commander-in-chief, the Emperor. And an Imperial command to lay down arms and return to barracks did not meet with instant obedience. These considerations were largely instrumental in inducing the court martial which sat in judgment on the mutineers to mete out 17 death sentences, of which 15 were carried into execution.

While the Army carried out this purge of its own ranks, the new Cabinet, formed under the Premiership of Mr. Koki Hirota, the former Foreign Minister, made substantial concessions to the desires of the military and naval leaders. The Army and Navy budgets, which together absorbed almost half the previous budget, were sharply increased, that of the Army by over 40 per cent, that of the Navy by almost 25 per cent. Hirota also committed himself to a number of measures which the Army desired, such as the promotion of emigration to Manchukuo, rigorous state control of the electrical power industry, shifting of

the burden of taxation, to some extent, from rural to urban districts, and "administrative reform." This last suggestion is one of those ambiguous phrases which are so common in Japanese political life. It may mean anything, from minor changes of detail to sweeping reorganization of the governmental machinery along fascist lines, which some of the younger Army officers are believed to desire.

Hirota's Fall

The Hirota Cabinet was formed as a compromise between the Army and the more moderate political forces in Japanese life, such as the parties and the business interests. But it failed to survive in the atmosphere of strain and bitterness which characterized the opening of the Diet in January. A number of developments in finance, economic and foreign policy had increased popular dissatisfaction and sharpened the tongues of the deputies who rose to question the Government's policies.

The signature of an anti-communist pact with Germany in November, 1936, was generally regarded as untimely, if not unwise in itself, because it gave the Soviet Government an excuse to postpone indefinitely the signature of a long-term fisheries agreement which had been concluded along lines quite favorable to Japan. The Soviet Government gave further concrete evidence of its dissatisfaction by stopping pig-iron deliveries to Japan and interposing various obstacles in the way of Japanese shipping and trading interests in Vladivostok.

The efforts of Finance Minister Eiichi Baba simultaneously to satisfy the demands of the Army and Navy for more money and to still the appeals of the rural communities for tax relief by transferring some of the local tax burden to the accounts of the central government, led to the proposal of a budget of record proportions, amounting to 3,038,500,000 yen. (The budget of the preceding year called for appropriations of 2,272,500,000 yen. The value of the yen, at present rates of exchange, is about 28½ cents.)

Baba's swollen budget contributed to an

inflationary rise in prices; the increased taxes which he proposed to levy on tobacco, textiles, and other articles of general consumption also helped to increase the cost of living and the popular discontent. A severely restrictive measure limiting import purchases, which he introduced for the purpose of checking a declining tendency in the value of the yen, was unpopular in business circles.

Soon after the Diet opened its sessions, Mr. Kunimatsu Hamada, veteran member of one of the two chief Japanese political parties, the Seiyukai, denounced Army interference in politics in unusually bold and outspoken terms. He recalled that the Emperor Meiji had ordered soldiers to abstain from politics and accused the Army of being imbued with the "ideology of dictatorship" and the Government of promoting the growth of fascist tendencies.

The War Minister, General Count Terauchi, took offense at Mr. Hamada's criticisms and demanded that the Diet be dissolved. The majority of his colleagues in the Cabinet preferred the milder course of the resignation of the Cabinet. The Army leaders again showed their power by vetoing the first candidate whom the Emperor, on the advice of the venerable Genro, Prince Saionji, entrusted with the responsibility of forming a Cabinet. This was General Kazushige Ugaki, whose appointment was greeted with approval by the political parties and the press.

Under a normal constitutional régime Ugaki could have easily formed a Cabinet and obtained a vote of confidence in the Diet. But it is required under Japanese constitutional practice (although not stipulated in the written Japanese Constitution) that the posts of War Minister and Navy may only be held, respectively, by a General and an Admiral in active service. This practically gives either of the fighting services an unlimited veto right in the formation of a new Cabinet. The corporate spirit among Japanese military and naval officers is so strong that no officer would accept office in a Cabinet without the approval of the majority of his colleagues. This ap-



THE DEVIL, THE PREMIER, AND THE DEEP BLUE SEA: Premier Hayashi (center) ponders his unenviable position between the Army extremists (the figure on the left is not carrying a ploughshare) and the moderates, of whom Prince Saionji (right) is a leader.

proval was withheld in the case of General Ugaki, partly because he was considered too close to the political parties and hence unlikely to take a stiff, unyielding view on questions of military appropriations, partly because he had made some personal enemies in the higher ranks of the Army during some earlier factional disputes.

It is characteristic of the dual nature of Japanese political life that, while the Army can thwart the nomination of a Premier whom it dislikes, the power of initiative, of suggesting candidates for the office rests with Prince Saionji, who has always retained a strong tinge of liberalism as a result of his education, as a young man, in France. When Ugaki was rejected, Saionji's second choice was General Senjuro Hayashi, who had served as War Minister in the Cabinet of Admiral Okada during 1934 and 1935. General Hayashi, while he is a typical old-fashioned soldier, is not a fire-eater and is not particularly associated with the state socialist ideas which are popular among the younger officers.

"Mild and Mediocre" Hayashi

During the early period of his administration General Hayashi has steered a cautious middle-of-the-road course, both in foreign and in domestic policy. If he has indicated no positive solution for Japan's pressing diplomatic and economic problems, he has also abstained from any state-

ment that would be calculated to exasperate the Diet or to cause hostile repercussions in foreign countries. "My ideas are mild and mediocre." So runs a possibly too literal translation of one of Hayashi's replies to an interpellation in the Diet. It conveys a fair impression of the line of policy which he has pursued during the first weeks of his Premiership.

The business interests were conciliated by the appointment of a new Finance Minister, Mr. Toyotaro Yuki, former head of the Industrial Bank of Japan. Yuki has abandoned some of the more objectionable features of his predecessor's policy and has obtained a slight reduction in the budget, mainly at the expense of the rural communities, which will receive a smaller measure of tax relief than they had expected. The Diet, on its part, has not taken an openly antagonistic position in relation to General Hayashi's Cabinet. Criticism has been free; but there has been no effort to tamper with the military and naval appropriations.

So now, as for a time under the Hirota Cabinet, there is a period of calm and truce. That this period can last indefinitely is most improbable. For Japan today is the arena of constant struggle between two contending groups, which, for lack of better terms, one may characterize as extremists and moderates. And this struggle seems certain to become accentuated as the question of who is to pay the high costs of the

venture in imperialism on which Japan embarked with the seizure of Manchuria in 1931 comes more insistently into the foreground.

The two most articulate elements in Japanese public life today are militarism and big business; and, with certain exceptions and reservations, these forces may be identified respectively with the extremists and the moderates. In the camp of the extremists one may reckon a considerable part of the Army officers, especially of the men in the junior grades of the service, together with the members of the many small organizations which preach uncompromising nationalism. The Navy stands with the Army in upholding traditional nationalism and in maintaining its professional interests by securing the maximum appropriations for new naval construction. It differs from its brother service, however, in being much less inclined to favor any drastic change in the existing political and economic order. The Navy stood by, ready for action on behalf of the legal government, during the days of crisis in February, 1936. The Navy Minister, Admiral Nagano, favored the moderate solution of Cabinet resignation, not the drastic method of dissolving the Diet during the more recent crisis.

Japan's Extremists

What is the program of Japan's extremists? It is not in keeping with oriental psychology to draw up the precise blueprints of new social orders which one sometimes finds in the more concretely minded West. But a fairly accurate idea of the leaven which is at work among Japan's military radicals is conveyed by the following excerpts from one of several pamphlets on general political, economic, and social questions which have been published by the Press Department of the War Ministry:

The present economic system has been developed on the basis of individualism. For this reason economic activities tend to serve only individual interests and do not always harmonize with the general interests of the state. The extreme emphasis on free competition may be a danger, arousing antagonism between the classes.

Wealth accumulated by a minority causes

misery among the masses, strikes, the failure of small industrial establishments, the ruin of agriculture; and all these factors upset the balance of our national life. . . .

Finance and industry should be co-ordinated so that we can derive the full benefit from our natural resources, our industrial development, our foreign trade and from the measures adopted for national defense. . . . It is desirable that the people should abandon their individualistic economic conceptions; instead they should recognize the importance of a collective economy. . . . The state should rigidly control the entire national economy.

In this Army radicalism there is a strong note of anti-capitalism. Some of the more prominent Japanese industrialists and financiers left Tokyo and even went into hiding during the troubled days of the February 26 outbreak. Back of this anti-capitalism one can recognize three distinct elements. There is the traditional contempt of the Japanese medieval warrior *samurai* class for trade; many of the Japanese officers are descendants of old *samurai* families. There is the bitterness of the impoverished countryside against the more prosperous city. A high percentage of Japanese officers and men come from country districts. Finally, there is the influence (for Japan is very imitative) of Germany and Italy, the widespread feeling that the ideal maximum of national defense preparation cannot be reconciled with an individualist economic system.

The Moderates

On the side of the moderates are most of the Japanese business men, the political parties, the senior statesmen of the type of Prince Saionji and Count Makino, the majority of the diplomats. They stand for a pacific foreign policy, aiming at commercial advantages rather than political expansion, for some limitation of the growing military and naval expenditures, and for the maintenance of the economic status quo.

The line of opposition between Japan's extremists and moderates is not altogether clear cut, and this is probably the chief reason why the successive crises which have occurred up to the present time have ended in compromises, not in a decisive victory of one group over the other. Whatever may

be the ideas of some of the more impetuous junior officers, the majority of the senior generals are by no means anxious to wring the neck of the capitalist goose that lays golden eggs for them with every new budget. They know that any sweeping measures of nationalization or confiscation would cause serious dislocation in the nation's delicately adjusted mechanism of foreign trade and credit and that such a dislocation would have harmful consequences, from the standpoint of national defense.

In the same way, the majority of Japanese business men and politicians are by no means averse to a strong nationalist foreign policy, provided that it can be carried out without too great risk and too great cost. Some business interests are directly benefiting from the large munitions and ship-building orders which are a natural consequence of the enlarged armament program. While it is a debatable question whether Japanese economy as a whole would show a profit or loss from Manchukuo there can be no doubt that many Japanese firms have made handsome profits from the vast expansion of trade with Manchukuo which was made possible by the Army's strong forward policy in 1931.

Yet, despite the relation of interdependence which has thus far prevented Japan's extremists and moderates from actually flying at each others' throats, criticism of the Army is today more open and widespread than it has been in Japan since the seizure of Manchuria started Japan on a career of outward expansion and internal extreme nationalism. It has been a long time since a Japanese Diet has heard such strong words of criticism as Mr. Yukio Ozaki, one of its oldest members and a consistent radical democrat throughout his long career, uttered during a recent speech:

In all first-class nations the Army and Navy observe strictly the limits of their competencies. When we come to second-rate and third-rate nations we see that the armies and navies have a voice in politics. Spain is a good example, and hence there is a horrible civil war in that country. It is only in recent years that Army men have acted without the command of His Majesty the Generalissimo. No one ordered the

May 15* or February 26 Incidents. The Army would do well to repent, close its door and remain silent. There is talk, to be sure, of disciplining the Army, but we fail to see any indication of this.

One of the reasons for the mild reaction against Army domination which is perceptible in Japanese public opinion today is that the costs of empire are becoming painfully apparent. For a time these costs were disguised, because the large deficits, usually ranging around 30 per cent of the entire sum of appropriations, which have characterized every Japanese budget since the occupation of Manchuria in 1931 have been covered by borrowing. Now the Army and Navy demands have reached a point where additional taxation must supplement borrowing. Japan has a very modest standard of living; and the subtraction of a few yen from the income of the laborer, the peasant, and the clerk or small shopkeeper through higher taxes or increased prices is keenly felt.

Another consideration that perhaps carries more weight with the educated classes than with the masses is that Japan's masterful policy on the mainland of Asia has brought neither assured domination nor real security. Japanese pressure has evoked counter-pressure. The Soviet Union, with its large, well-equipped Far Eastern Army and its hundreds of bombing airplanes, within flying range of Tokyo and Osaka, is a greater potential threat to Japan than it was before Manchuria was occupied. The arming in China and the rise of nationalist spirit in that country are direct reactions to Japanese expansion. The rushing to completion of Great Britain's huge naval base at Singapore is also clearly directed against Japan.

Halfway to Fascism

Japan's political structure today may be accurately described as a halfway house to fascism. Alone among the larger powers it defies classification either as a dictatorship or as a democracy. It is not a dictatorship in the generally accepted sense of the term

*On May 15, 1932, a band of nationalist officers assassinated the Premier, Mr. Tsuyoshi Inukai, and carried out other terrorist acts and demonstrations.

because there is no dictator, no individual who, in scope of personal power, could be remotely compared with Stalin, Hitler, or Mussolini. Even the Army, which wields so much obvious power, is a rather impersonal organization. There would seem to be no embryo Bonaparte in its ranks. Its decisions are not those of an individual, but rather of a collective group of senior generals, who are themselves obliged to take into consideration the mood of the middle and lower ranks of the officers' corps.

Japan's achievements in mass propaganda and mass terrorism, while not altogether lacking, are far inferior to those of Germany, Italy, or Russia. In the really efficient post-war dictatorship not one word of written or publicly spoken criticism of the existing régime may appear. The Japanese press is often gagged and curbed; yet many influential newspapers were quite outspoken in their criticism of the Japanese-German pact against communism, and the speeches of Ozaki and other opponents of the Army in the Diet are printed in detail and receive nationwide circulation.

If Japan is not a dictatorship, it is even more clearly not a democracy. Elections, while relatively free, have become almost meaningless. The present Cabinet does not include a single member who is affiliated with a political party. The role of the Diet has been reduced to that of a powerless and irresponsible forum of criticism. There is just enough freedom of speech for an unusually bold editor to announce occasionally that there is no freedom of speech. Since the February 26 outbreak the police has enjoyed a freer hand in its favorite occupation of spy-hunting. The atmosphere of secrecy about state affairs and decisions which is the invariable hallmark of the dictator-ruled country is increasing in Japan.

Some features of Western fascism are al-

ready discernible in Japan. Discipline and regimentation are assured by the wide powers exercised by the police. The cult of militant patriotism is very strong in Japan; every schoolboy knows the story of the three "human bombs." These were Japanese soldiers who tied explosives around their bodies and rushed forward to certain death in order to blow up barbed-wire entanglements which were holding up the Japanese advance at Shanghai. Fondness for long-term planning is another characteristic which present-day Japan shares with the communist and fascist dictatorships. The portfolios of Japanese bureaucrats are fairly bursting with blueprints for the future. Among these one may mention a five-year plan for the rehabilitation of the depressed Tohoku (the north-eastern provinces of Japan), a fifteen-year plan for South Sakhalin, a twenty-year plan for Hokkaido.

But, in the absence of a strong leader and a large mass party, which experience has thus far revealed as indispensable prerequisites of a fascist régime, Japan still stands midway between the parliamentary system which was upset by the Manchurian adventure of 1931 and some form of full-blown totalitarian state. It is not improbable that the present confused pattern of Japanese political life, product of the interaction of so many conflicting forces, will become simpler and clearer when Europe chooses more definitely between the alternatives of war and peace. A triumph for the forces making for peace in Europe would strengthen the hands of Japan's moderates. The ideas of the extremists would gain added weight in the event of a major European war which, by weakening the amount of force which Great Britain and the Soviet Union could bring to bear in the Far East, would make much easier the realization of Japan's expansive dreams.

THIS SUPREME COURT MUDDLE

The real issue—people's confidence in the court—has been lost in the clamor

By M. E. TRACY

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S plan for revising the Supreme Court is admittedly an expedient designed to achieve temporary results. It appears to rest on the following assumptions: (1) The New Deal must be continued; (2) The Supreme Court, as presently organized, stands in the way of this; (3) Some kind of reorganization, therefore, becomes necessary; (4) The emergency is so great as to leave no time for a constitutional amendment.

These assumptions are supported by the argument that the American people endorsed the New Deal last November; that is undoubtedly true in a general sense of the word. It would be unsafe to conclude, however, that this meant endorsement of such specific measures as might be proposed in the name of the New Deal. The people did not know, and could not know, what those measures would be. They did not know, for instance, that a plan for revising the Supreme Court would be presented so soon after the inauguration. But they did know that the NRA had been outlawed, and that, too, by unanimous vote of the Court. Whether they believed that a substitute for NRA would be, or ought to be, proposed is a matter of pure speculation. So, too, is the question of whether they believed that the personnel of the Supreme Court should be so changed or increased as to make going easy for a new NRA and similar measures.

The strength of President Roosevelt's plan lies in the widespread dissatisfaction with the Supreme Court's attitude toward New Deal legislation, which represents nothing new or unparalleled in our politi-

cal record. There was widespread dissatisfaction with the Dred Scott decision and the Income Tax decision, the former of which was rendered more than eighty years ago. The late William J. Bryan was a severe critic of the Supreme Court, and the late Theodore Roosevelt was so perturbed by the extension of judicial power as to suggest the desirability of recalling judicial decisions.

The weakness of President Roosevelt's plan is revealed by two simple facts: If it were put into effect, we would still have a partisan court with power to declare laws unconstitutional by the opinion of a bare majority. We would still be able to quote members of the Court to prove that the Court was wrong, just as the President did in his fireside chat a short time ago.

The addition of any number of judges necessary to create a "liberal" majority on the Supreme Court would not alter in any respect the most disturbing element of this entire situation. Nor does the fixing of an age limit for retirement of justices promise much different, or much better, results. Some men are younger at eighty than others are at fifty, while some are more reactionary at twenty-five than others are at seventy-five. The factor of age is just as important in growth as in decay. We do not permit persons under 21 to vote, or persons under 25 to serve as representatives in Congress. But once admitted to citizenship, they can vote as long as they are able, physically and mentally, to exercise the privilege. We fix no age limit for citizens, representatives in Congress, Senators, or even Presidents at the end of life. Our only concern is that they should be old

enough to have some sense at the beginning. The question of how old a justice of the Supreme Court should be at retirement is of no greater consequence than is that of how old he should be when appointed.

The Theory of Justice

The real source of discontent, doubt, and dissatisfaction, and, therefore, the real issue in this controversy, is not whether the Supreme Court should be so manipulated from time to time as to change its attitude toward the Constitution, but whether it should exercise the power to declare laws unconstitutional in such a way as to preserve public confidence.

Loss of faith in the wisdom of allowing the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional is definitely traceable to the divided opinions it has rendered and to the conflicting ideas which members of the court have expressed. In each instance where this has been done by a 5-4, or even a 6-3, majority, people favoring the laws that were declared unconstitutional have found it possible to support their own views and thus cast doubt on the decision by referring to minority opinions and by asserting that the justices who expressed them were just as able, just as patriotic, and just as loyal to the Constitution as were those constituting the majority.

As long as this situation continues, we are bound to suffer from an increasing lack of faith, not only in the Supreme Court, but in the Constitution it interprets, and for this the Roosevelt plan provides no remedy.

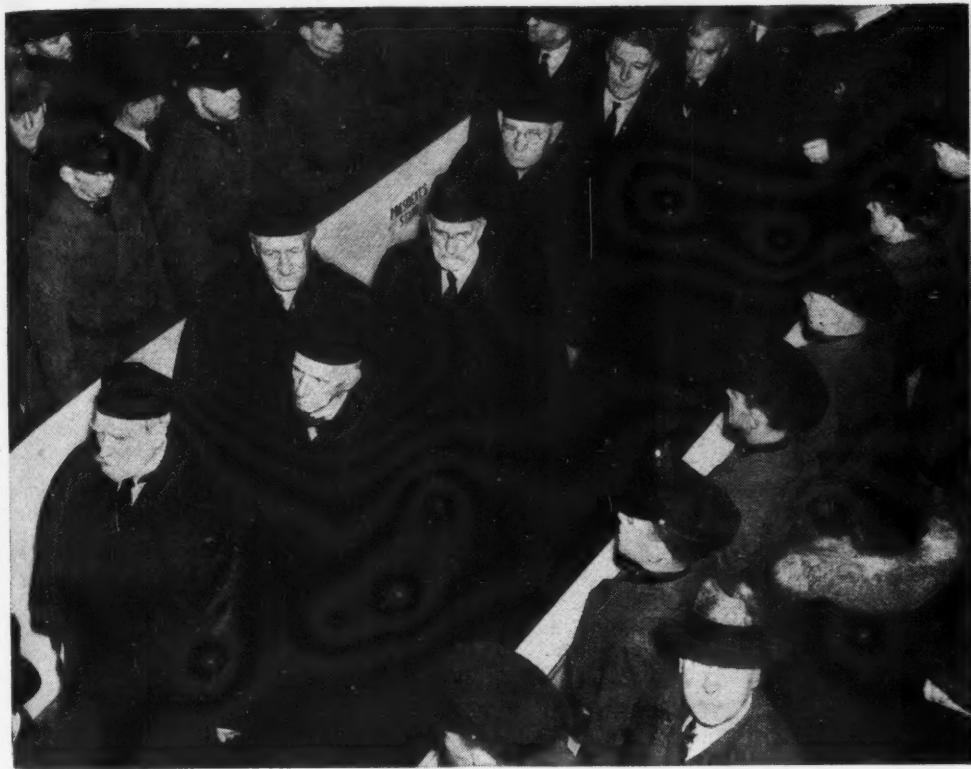
But opposition to the President's plan of court revision because of its imagined perils does not seem to be well founded. As a matter of common sense, the plan promises little of either good or ill, except by way of establishing a precedent. The precedent, however, has already been established. More than once we have had a reorganization of the Supreme Court through an increase or decrease of membership for the express purpose of altering its attitude toward some particular measure, program or policy. The practice of allowing the Supreme Court to declare laws unconsti-

tutional by a mere majority opinion is inconsistent with our theory of justice. As a general proposition, we insist on unanimous jury verdicts for the conviction of even minor criminals. We do this in order to be as sure as is humanly possible of the right result. Should we be less exacting with regard to the validity of laws passed by the national legislature? Is the nullification of a Federal statute less important than the conviction of an ordinary thug or murderer? Should we permit it to be done by a 5-4 majority when we hesitate to sanction such a thin margin in the case of a chicken-thief?

The basic idea of enforcing constitutional guarantees by judicial decree is sound. Indeed, it represents an essential safeguard. The Constitution might well become meaningless without it, since the chief purpose of the Constitution is to prevent the rise of a tyrannical government by circumscribing the powers of government and by prohibiting governmental agencies from going beyond certain bounds. If we could trust the legislative branch of the government to be wise and equitable without restraint, it follows as a matter of course that we would need no Constitution. If we could trust unified government with unlimited power, except as it might be guided by public sentiment, the same thing is true. A written Constitution is of no value except as it affords the citizen the right to appeal if, as, and when he believes some unjust law has been enacted. How could he do so, except through the courts, and how could the courts afford any relief except by declaring such a law invalid providing, of course, his complaint were sound?

Democracy and Unanimity

The right of citizens or groups of citizens to appeal under the Constitution, however, and the power of the courts to grant them relief, if relief is merited, should be exercised with great care and should be surrounded with exactly such safeguards as we apply to other functions or branches of government. The right to appeal and the power of the court to grant relief should



Pictures

MEN IN BLACK: Members of the Supreme Court on their way to the inaugural of President Roosevelt. "The real issue is not whether the Supreme Court should be so manipulated as to change its attitude toward the Constitution, but whether it should exercise the power to declare laws unconstitutional in such a way as to preserve public confidence."

not rest on such a division of opinion, or such a thin margin of judgment as we refuse to tolerate even in minor cases.

If the unconstitutionality of a law is not sufficiently apparent to impress all judges on the Supreme Court, it is not sufficiently well founded to warrant the law's abrogation. When we come to such an important function as the absolute veto of laws passed by the Congress, we should insist that there be no question about the wisdom of such veto. We should know that, insofar as human faculties make it possible, the decision is sound, impartial, and based solely on the recognition of the popular will as expressed in the Constitution. In no other way can we preserve confidence in the Constitution, respect for the Supreme Court, and the stability of our political system.

There is ample warrant for believing that some change should be made in the relations between the judicial and the legislative branches of the government; that the Supreme Court enjoys a freedom of action in declaring laws unconstitutional which is out of harmony with the seriousness of its function in that respect, and that the function should be made sufficiently difficult to guarantee the wisest result. There is ample warrant for believing that this freedom represents a source of peril rather than a source of stability.

It is quite true that a constitutional amendment would take some time not only to ratify but to frame, and it is quite true that no constitutional amendment has been proposed on which a large section of the public, or even a large section of Congress,

seems willing to agree. But we face a grave question as well as an emergency, and as between the two, the question merits more attentive consideration. If it is the intent of those in authority to forestall and prevent emergencies rather than to meet them as they arise, then the underlying question of so adjusting the relations of the Supreme Court to other branches of government as to command the greatest possible degree of public confidence and respect becomes all-important. That those in responsible positions take such a view of the case is vividly illustrated by the number of constitutional amendments that already have been suggested in one form or another—more than forty of them—ranging all the way from popular election of Supreme Court justices to freezing the court in its present number.

The number of justices in the Supreme Court, or even the method of their selection, would seem to be of less conse-

quence than the rule of unanimity, or near unanimity, in declaring laws unconstitutional. Of all amendments thus far proposed, that offered by Senator Norris of Nebraska appears to be the most logical. It would demand a majority of more than two thirds for the Supreme Court to declare a law unconstitutional. Though this would be an obvious improvement, there is room for doubt as to whether it goes far enough. Why not absolute unanimity? Why leave the slightest room for doubt, skepticism, and dissatisfaction? Why not insist that, when we come to such an important function of the court as nullifying a national law, it must meet the most exacting conditions? Why not an amendment like this:

The power of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional is hereby recognized and confirmed, but only by unanimous vote of the Court.

Before Judiciary Committee

The following are excerpts from the hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee on President Roosevelt's proposal to enlarge the Supreme Court:

Raymond Moley: "I am for an amendment, not usurpation by Congress."

Senator La Follette: "The need today is not to amend the Constitution but rather to amend the Supreme Court."

James M. Landis: "His proposal recognizes an issue of men whose interpretations of that document [the Constitution] make it a straight-jacket upon our national life."

Senator Walsh (Dem., Mass.), at Carnegie Hall: "It is calculated to destroy the Supreme Court as a separate and independent judicial branch of the government in which the final judicial power was vested by the Constitution."

Democratic National Chairman **James A. Farley**, in North Carolina: "It seems to me that the reorganization plan comes directly into the class of those matters on which party loyalty should be the guiding principle."

Harold Willis Dodds, President of Princeton University: "The present proposal to enlarge the Court has been defended on the ground that to amend the Constitution would take too long, and that the plan before you opens up the necessary by-pass. Millions of Americans are hoping that the Congress will not succumb to this philosophy. The spirit of the world is too antagonistic to our democratic tradition to permit us to think that we can remain immune if we once abandon the rigors of constitutionalism for the facile argument that the end justifies the means. . . ."

"Shrewd and forceful political leaders (as distinct from conventional political bosses) thrive on emergencies when they know how to take advantage of them. When the political waters of the world are stagnant, any leader or party which can create an emergency may be the instrument of progress. . . ."

"An emergency must be a serious one indeed that justifies a repudiation of the principle of constitutionalism in a democracy. . . ."

AS BRITAIN CROWNS A KING

*Last December's storm has subsided
but problems loom before the Empire*

By S. K. RATCLIFFE

AN ABLE American journalist, looking upon England last year, observed that no people in Europe could possibly be as secure as the British people believed themselves to be. This was an acute remark, but it calls for both correction and amplification. Mr. Walter Millis in London was misled by the outward behavior of our folk. He found us content to think ourselves safe and was baffled by English complacency. Actually, however, at that very time the instructed public—far larger than it was a quarter of a century ago—was gloomy and anxious, deeply concerned about the future—perhaps for the first time in a century, except during a few weeks in the black spring of 1918. Today, undoubtedly, the country as a whole feels the assurance of recovered security. Mental depression was the mark of 1936; and at the end of that year, to the amazement of the world, Britain was struck by a tornado of terrific force. The central institution of the Empire was shaken. It is probably true that the majority of people outside England deemed the monarchy to be discredited and felt that the one imposing throne which survives in England would never be the same again. But the ship of state righted itself within ten days and—although the reasons are only in part related to the events of last December—the fact of the moment is that Britain, justifiably or not, is some degrees less apprehensive than she was twelve months ago.

I will come to the reasons for so significant a change at the end of this article. First let us consider the more important aspects of the monarchy crisis, as England sees them after a six-months interval, and the

results of that extraordinary upheaval in the British system generally.

To an Englishman who was in the United States throughout the winter, it was manifest that the American public was impressed (and, I think, somewhat shocked) by the smoothness and finality with which the institutions of Britain operated from the moment when King Edward made the direct issue by announcing his purpose to the Prime Minister: "I intend to marry Mrs. Simpson, and I am prepared to go." When he spoke those words, with the plain implication that he had no thought of resisting the Cabinet in order to make Wallis Simpson Queen of England, the King was already beaten by the weight of the authorities and institutions he had challenged.

In the March number of *Current History* (p. 116), two editorials were quoted, one from Canada and the other from China. They were enthusiastically pro-Edward, and since they expressed a sentiment which we know to have been both widespread and deepseated, it is worth while to restate here in the shortest space what a famous English statesman would have called the main and governing 'facts of an unparalleled situation.

(1.) There was an immediate and general realization that a lady who, apart from every other consideration, carried the handicap of a second, and uncompleted, divorce could not be acceptable as Queen of England. The King realized this from the opening of the discussion and, realizing also the impossibility of his own proposal—a morganatic marriage—he decided not to precipitate the constitutional crisis which would have been unavoidable if, repudiating



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PLUS CA CHANGE: Queen Elizabeth, who was crowned three hundred years ago and whose reign saw the rise of Britain's sea power and the defeat of the Spanish, and her No. 1 naval man, Sir Francis Drake, who in Seymour Lucas' famous painting, coolly continues his game of bowls as the Spanish Armada is sighted.

ing the advice of his Ministers, Edward had gone defiantly ahead. He was compelled to choose his course without delay. If he had been merely reckless, he would have added a short and sharp final chapter to the long history of the conflict between King and Cabinet, between Crown and Parliament. There could have been only one ending to a struggle of that kind. It is a very old story in England.

(2.) A central point in the whole affair is this: that the King did not make a stand for Mrs. Simpson as queen-consort. His first definite statement to Mr. Baldwin and his early proposition of a morganatic alliance (submitted at the instance of three newspaper barons) puts this leading fact beyond dispute. Nor could he make out any case for his own suggested solution. It is hard, indeed, to believe that he had genuinely persuaded himself to accept so glaringly incongruous a compromise as a wife of legally defined inferior status, with

all claims surrendered. The plan was not arguable for a single day. There is no morganatic marriage in English law; Parliament would not discuss a bill to make it possible; the free Dominions could not look at it. The charge has been made that Mr. Baldwin put this particular query to Ottawa and Capetown and Canberra in his own fashion, and that the public voice of the Dominions was not heard at all until after the whole affair was settled. That may well be true. Mr. Baldwin, by his own admission, departed in October and November from the strict line of constitutional practice. But the hazards and mistakes of a Prime Minister during those critical weeks do not affect the question or the result. Queenship and semi-queenship were alike judged to be remote from actuality, and Edward did not seek to upset the judgment. The essential point here is that by the time the distracted King was left alone, during the bitter week-end at Fort Belvedere, to



Black Star



Pictures

—PLUS C'EST LA MÊME CHOSE: Another Queen Elizabeth who comes to the throne of the only remaining one of the old empires, and the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Samuel Hoare, whose figure-skating weekend in Switzerland in November 1935, as Mussolini was carving out a rival empire, is now legendary.

make his own decision, the problem had been reduced to a single stark alternative—to give up the lady or to relinquish the throne.

(3.) When the full history of the abdication comes to be written, the marvel of that choice, for this King of England, will not seem less baffling than it is today. Edward the Eighth was the only monarch of his time who had attained an absolute popularity. The press, the radio, and the films had combined to make him universally known. He occupied the one throne of the world that is always news, and his personal qualities were of the special kind which, in some indefinable way, can reinforce all the instruments of publicity. He was altogether English and yet, as the common people everywhere understood from the beginning, he was completely out of tune with the established forms and the prevailing atmosphere of the Court and English society. He was born to the most conspicuous position in the

world and—at least according to the majority belief of England and America—gave promise in young manhood of filling it with a refreshing success. But if anything in King Edward's unexampled affair can be accepted as clear, it is this: that the splendor and dignity of the heights meant nothing to him. He felt himself to be unfitted for the kingly office, and so became that wonder of the age—the only King of England who has voluntarily surrendered his throne.

Is there any mystery in the personal relation which alone brought about the tragedy of December 11? The right answer surely is: none. As prince and king in an age such as ours, Edward of Windsor could not have a reasonable upbringing or the normal human satisfactions. He was sacrificed to the system, a victim of unmerciful publicity. He was condemned to make his personal life over against a fantastic figure of legend, bearing his own name, but having nothing

to do with the man himself as known to his family, to his friends, or to the press correspondents who covered his frequent journeys. And it is this tragic child of fortune who, when nearing his fortieth year, becomes wholly dependent, as we must infer, upon the first woman he had found able to give him the full experience of bright and competent and understanding affection.

(4.) The judgment passed by the British government and people upon King Edward was a national judgment—complete, variously based, and without compunction. No doubt there were millions of people in many lands asking last December why the thing had to be done, and done in so ruthless a manner. If this query is still being asked, we may reply to it by another. Any line of action different from the one taken six months ago would have involved a fierce conflict of opinion about the throne; how could that have been permitted by a British Cabinet? Think of the perils and terrors of present-day Europe—the governments on edge, the dictators on the watch. Is it conceivable that at this time the authorities in London could risk splitting the nation to its roots, and of making a breach between England and the free Dominions? Of course it is not. One thing above all was necessary—an overwhelming affirmation of British unity and resolve. And that affirmation was made, in terms which could not be misread in any European capital.

The Crown and the Empire

So much for the Crown in crisis, as Government and people saw and dealt with it at home. This, however, is only half of the story. The Crown is the link of empire; as we are nowadays continually reminded, the sole remaining link. What is to be said of the monarchy in relation to Commonwealth and Empire, now that the throne has passed without a hitch to George the Sixth?

In trying to estimate the results of the abdication for Britain overseas, we must take first into account the remarkable changes, constitutional and other, that have come about within the past forty years. The four

self-governing Dominions long since attained nationhood, and that momentous evolution is now complete. India, for all its vicissitudes, has been moving towards self-government, and developments of varied import have taken place in those wide regions of the colonial empire that are still ruled from London.

The older British Empire may be said to have existed down to the moulding of the Australian federal Commonwealth in 1900 and of the South African Union nine years later. The Morley-Minto reforms in India (1910) prepared the ground, with extreme caution, for the Montagu system of partial self-government in the provinces (1919), and this in turn for the elaborate constitution which, after the Gandhi crusade and successive round-table conferences, is now getting laboriously under way. India, which a famous Liberal statesman of the last generation used to say was Britain's only real empire, provides on the whole the problem of least practical difficulty with respect to the Crown. The Indian princes depend wholly upon the British connection and are therefore faithful lieges of the King-Emperor. The nationalist parties and their leaders were in the early moderate days altogether loyal. They looked upon the monarch as high above the two governing powers, Parliament and the bureaucracy—a possible court of final appeal. A King or Prince of Wales visiting India was assured of an over-powering mass welcome. Since then nationalism in India has taken on all the forms of extremism, and it is impossible at present for any observer to guess the effect of post-Gandhi politics upon the general attitude towards the Crown. Mass feeling in favor of Edward was, as we should expect, a great force in India, for this reason if for no other: there cannot be any country in which the tradition of kingly impulse and irresponsibility is more deeply ingrained. And in India it has always been understood that the prince does absolutely as he pleases in the matter of marriage and every other personal relation. So long as the imperial connection is maintained, we may assume, there will be no question in

India about the Crown itself. But the present political transition is full of difficulty, and it would be foolish not to recognize that the more conscious classes among the Indian multitudes entertain a new and curious feeling towards the Crown when the most popular of Kings disappears overnight.

Ireland, like India, must be treated as a problem apart, since the Free State has its own peculiar standing in relation to the Crown. We have heard it many times stated that Mr. De Valera took advantage of England's difficulty by speedily putting through at the end of 1936 certain changes in the constitution. Mr. De Valera, quite naturally, was not disposed to miss a heaven-sent opportunity; but as a matter of fact his action amounted to no more than a slight quickening of the pace. His proposals were already before the Dail. They would have been adopted this year in any case. And since Mr. De Valera began with a prompt acceptance of the new King, it can be argued that he did no more than take a step which establishes the Free State in a more regular relation to Great Britain. The office of Lord Lieutenant is now established. But that had long been intended; and it is plain that the actual breach was made when, some years ago, Mr. De Valera reduced the King's representative to a cipher by conferring the nominal dignity upon a retired small shopkeeper. In the internal affairs of the Irish Free State Crown and Parliament have now no place, but this fact is of relatively small importance to Ireland. Geography governs her place in the British system. It is the partition of the island that is the crux. Mr. De Valera and his party are actually failing in their main design so long as they demand a united Ireland without finding the way to win over the northern province. This is Ireland's problem, not England's.

We come now to the four Dominions, in their developing relation to the Mother Country and to the Crown. The advance to full nationhood of Canada and Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, is the supremely characteristic development of the commonwealth of Greater Britain. No

imperial system, past or present, could embody a similar group of daughter countries. They are the unique British contribution to the difficult craft of colonial expansion. Until recently it was taken as almost axiomatic that all the serious problems would lie outside the Dominions—that is, in the Empire and not in the Commonwealth. Today we know that this assumption was mistaken.

The Dominions have long been independent as regards their internal affairs, if we except the single restraint of the Privy Council in London as the final authority in legal and constitutional affairs—the British imperial equivalent, that is to say, of the U. S. Supreme Court. The Dominions, of course, enjoy to fullest political independence. Their economic and fiscal freedom is absolute. Their taxation is their own; they impose tariffs at will; they lock their doors against British immigrants no less than against Europeans, Asiatics, Americans. And since 1931 the Dominions have held the position of equal partnership with Britain, fixed and defined by law.

The Statute of Westminster (1931) is a remarkable instrument of government. It sets forth the principle that each British Dominion enjoys equality of status within the Commonwealth of Nations, being in no way subservient to the Government or Parliament in London. It provides that the governments, and in certain cases the parliaments, of all the Dominions shall give their approval to proposed measures affecting the Crown or the welfare of the nations concerned. The statute, in a word, opens a new stage of development for the British system, and the framework it creates has still to be put to the test.

The monarchical crisis provided a first opportunity for decision and discussion, and it is clear that the parliamentary debate at Ottawa which followed the action of the Mackenzie King Government was an event of no small importance. The King Edward crisis came suddenly. Quick decisions were demanded. Exchanges between London and the Dominion capitals were by cable and telephone. There was no time for a sum-

moning of parliaments. Premiers and cabinets had to take risks. Mr. Baldwin put the points directly to the head of each Dominion government. Canada endorsed the abdication by means of an executive order-in-council, and the Dominion Parliament in the new session passed a one-clause bill altering the succession to the throne in accord with the British Act. South Africa merely conveyed to London the assent of the Union. The Australian Parliament alone found itself in a position to adopt a resolution approving the Abdication Act on the same day as the passing of the bill at Westminster. All this was as it must be in any situation which has no precedent. As a matter of fact (although the Australian Premier sent Edward a cable plea that he should not cease to be King of Australia) there was here no possibility of dispute: the Dominions, obviously, were bound to be in line. And, indeed, we may be sure that future questions at issue between Britain and the Dominions must be concerned not with the sovereign personally or the succession to the throne, but with large and intricate matters of authority and policy.

If Britain Goes to War

Some of these we can see already taking shape, as for instance: What will be the attitude and feeling of the peoples of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, should the peace of Europe be broken and Britain be involved once more in a vast European upheaval? The daughters, we know, would be with the Mother Country; but how if Europe should prove to be incurable? What again, is to be the solution of the problem of Imperial and Dominion defense? Canada has lately passed a new defense measure, her largest so far though still of modest extent. It is a gesture rather than an act of policy, and it seems to be seriously indicative of future probabilities. And, once more, what may equal status and full partnership mean if, or when, in the course of human events the Pacific Ocean becomes the theatre of world-shaking conflict?

The British people have come through a severe and a revealing ordeal. The instincts of the Commonwealth were accurate: Edward the Eighth was not meant to continue on the throne. But the huge body of the middle classes and the governing upper-middle class was shaken to the foundations by the disclosures and decisions of the days. Those things and the wonderfully easy transition to the new King do not mean that the abdication is a finished event, leaving no long-distance results and leaving the Crown as an institution and symbol unaffected. As to one completed result, however, there were no questions. Britain has once more delimited her famous limited monarchy, making entirely certain the principle of cabinet responsibility and parliamentary democracy.

And in doing this, as I began by saying, Britain has stepped out of a stage of incertitude and apprehension into a mood of regained assurance. Two principal reasons for the turn may be given. There is first, the general satisfaction over the royal settlement—the personalities of the King and Queen and the important fact of the established royal family. Constitutional monarchy is in England the sign and guarantee of national unity and security, and it requires the additional guarantee of marriage and the succession. And secondly, there is the reality and effect of the Government's rearmament program. Until two years ago, the armament figures and expenditures could be cited by Ministers as proof that Britain was in fact building her external policy upon the collective system centered in Geneva. Today she is proclaiming to the world that defense has once again come to mean the strong right arm. But how is that ancient doctrine to justify itself in the penumbra of a Europe gone mad?

The reply to this question for England cannot come from Stanley Baldwin and his Cabinet. It will need to be found by his successor, who is to take the helm immediately after the coronation. That successor, it is agreed, must be Neville Chamberlain, and upon him as Prime Minister the heaviest of responsibilities will rest.

Cárdenas Organizes Capitalism

*Mexico's president fulfills his pledge
to give the country back to the people*

By CARLETON BEALS

EVERY November the school children of Mexico march thousands strong to commemorate the revolt of Francisco Madero, which 27 years ago ended Dictator Porfirio Díaz' prolonged rule over a nation of serfs. Only a few years ago the event was invariably celebrated by a military parade. The change is symbolic of a nation slowly emerging from military rule to that of public opinion and civic organization. These last three decades, the face of Mexico has been greatly made over.

Last November, during the week of the parade, I found the following and not exceptional press items:

150,000,000 pesos for railroad construction.

19,000,000 pesos for three dams to provide the Nazas River peasants with water for their newly received lands.

Fifty Yucatán townships provided with sanitary water supplies.

1,020 new rural schools, 75 per cent in Indian districts, founded; 2,000 more to be founded in 1937.

Over 2,000 plans for new buildings in the Federal District approved thus far this year in accordance with health, safety and standards of architectural harmony; 54,000 tenement-type houses provided with sanitary conveniences.

Mexican imports for August declined 18 per cent from same month the previous year; exports increased 41 per cent. "The bulk of exports, however, corresponded to raw materials, especially minerals, which so far yield absentee foreign owners most of the profits."

The beautiful Mexico-Guadalajara highway will be finished October 1938—total cost, 21,000,000 pesos.

2,000,000 dollars worth of sugar-refining machinery, bought by the Government from the St. Louis Fulton Iron Works, will be installed at Zacatepec, Morelos. "The plant will be operated on a profit-sharing basis."

Over half a million acres distributed to peasants in the Laguna district. In all states laws are being pushed to give the population access to all idle lands.

The population of Mexico has increased from 16,584,243 to 18,852,086.

"Felipe Munguía, the oldest officer of the 1910 Francisco Madero rebels, in a commemorative celebration yesterday in Torreón, presented an old-time rifle to President Cárdenas and received a brand-new plow in exchange."

All hotels are to be regulated to prevent soak-the-tourist practices. "Most hotel-keepers in Mexico are aliens."

These random news items, similar to those of almost any week of President Lázaro Cárdenas' administration, reveal off-hand a very pro-Mexican, somewhat anti-foreign, at least very nationalistic, attitude. Also, they indicate a large tourist influx and increasing interest in Mexico by North Americans. But more important, these items reflect prosperity, optimism, a rising standard of living, governmental initiative in building roads, edifices, railways, dams, schools, and in the promotion of agriculture, industry, public health, better living conditions. Mostly they reflect a spirit of peace and order. They likewise indicate that Cárdenas has revived the "radical" policy of land-distribution to the peasants, a policy which Calles began to bury ten years ago. But undoubtedly Mexico's prosperity is today greater than at any previous

time in its entire history. All during our own depression, Mexico's production, except for brief slumps in 1929 and 1932, has been expanding in all lines.

Mexico, for instance, is one of the few countries in the world which is actively building railroads—and out of current finances and locally financed bonds. Over a year ago the employees took over the bankrupt San Rafael-Atlixco railway on a basis of time payments, and in 12 months raised their wages 50 per cent and started laying down nearly 200 miles of additional track. Most of these new roads have political and economic significance.

This and other endeavors provide a phenomenal record in a country which has had a long semi-colonial status and which is still partly in that category, especially when it is considered that in the past Mexico has been heavily dependent upon economic conditions in the larger industrial nations.

The present achievements in Mexico are not the results of any one man, but of the change from a feudal to a more democratic régime, from a system of abject serfdom to one of a free labor supply and "regulated capitalism," based upon postulates of social welfare, a change which has cost a heavy toll of blood, disorder, atrocious violence, and has been featured by repeated betrayals of the people and the nation. It is the result of a historic process and the efforts of many successive leaders and groups. But the development of the past two and a half years, with its quickened tempo and unusual achievements, may be said to be due in large part to President Cárdenas, a man of broad vision, of exceptional ability, of clever political talents, and of driving energy. His capacities and his policies have proved a surprise even to his own people.

The Man

Cárdenas was born in the Michoacán village of Jiquilpan, May 21, 1895, one of eight children of a petty store-keeper. His parents were of Spanish and Tarascan Indian blood. He attended primary school,

but at the age of 13, due to the death of his father, was obliged to support the family. He worked as an errand-boy in the local tax-office and soon supplemented this with night-work in a print shop, of which he was soon made the manager. When 17, he was also made village jail-keeper, a not too onerous task in a town of little crime.

Horrified by Victoriano Huerta's assassination of Madero three years after the 1910 revolution, Cárdenas, then 18, threw up his jobs and, accompanied by his only prisoner in the jail, took the field against Huerta. The anti-Huerta movement grew rapidly, and after a number of battles, when the rebel forces were on the eve of entering Mexico City, Cárdenas, with only a year of brilliant service, found himself a full-fledged lieutenant-colonel in charge of the 22nd cavalry. Men rose rapidly those days.

Villa's power having withered in 1919, Cárdenas was sent into the Vera Cruz petroleum region to subdue the notorious Pelaez—in the pay of American petroleum companies. But the following year began the so-called "Revindicating Revolution" of Obregón and Calles which was to cement their hold over the country for the next fifteen years. Cárdenas supported the revolt. Cut off from federal supplies, he levied 20,000 pesos on the merchants of Gutiérrez Zamora. Six months later, to their great surprise, he paid them back to the last cent. He was made a general—five days before his 25th birthday. Only one President in all Mexico's history—Miramón—had ever received the golden epaulettes at such a young age. Cárdenas beat even his record by a few months.

Suicidal Exploit

In 1923-24, the "conservative" De la Huerta rebels seized all the central western part of the country, which includes Guadalajara, the second largest city. Obregón began his drive to recover it, and requested Cárdenas to lead a flying wedge into the enemy's rear via the south shore of Lake Chapala, all in rebel hands—a suicidal exploit. With only 1,500 cavalry, Cárdenas swept clear through to Zapotlán,



MEXICO'S RESOURCES: President Cárdenas is striving to have them exploited for the Mexican masses rather than foreign or domestic capitalists.

temporarily cutting the railroad. There, surrounded by an enemy four times as strong, his own force was cut to pieces. Seriously injured, but lucky not to be shot on the spot, he was taken to the Colima penitentiary. He escaped, raised a force in enemy territory and pushed up toward Guadalajara from the rear, just as Obregón entered it victorious from the front.

After handling ticklish situations in the oil fields of Tamaulipas and later of Tehuantepec, in 1929, when the serious Escobar revolt occurred, Cárdenas, in full charge of the Army of the West, swept the Pacific Coast clear of the revolters led by one of Mexico's most famed generals.

For the next eight years, after nineteen years of disturbance, Mexico, except for the sporadic outbursts of religious Cristeros, was to remain at peace. Cárdenas sensed the change and ran for governor of Michoacán, his home state.

As governor, Cárdenas pursued a very anti-clerical policy in a very pro-Catholic state. Soon convinced that the resultant friction was inimical to his more constructive plans, he at once modified his policy and conciliated his religious opponents. At the outset he established a sort of brain-trust, combing the country for young talent, a procedure that did not sit well with local politicians. Immediately, he set state finances in order, cutting all salaries of public employees—except those in the lower brackets—including his own, in half. He speeded up the land-distribution program, establishing some of the most successful cooperative village enterprises in the country. In all 181 villages were provided with 255,000 acres. He promoted agriculture and new industries, built roads, irrigation systems and schools—over 300 new ones, including two technical schools, one for Indians in Patzcuaro, the other for girls



Black Star

NO NAMES, BUT: This mural by Diego Rivera in the Hotel de la Reforma, Mexico City, has caused much comment and conjecture. There has been no official identification of the main characters, but it is known that opponents of former Dictator Calles are highly pleased with the mural.

in Morelos, were founded. He began and almost completed two railroad lines, built eleven air ports, drained the huge Cuitzco marsh and the marshy shores of Lake Chapala, channelized the Duero and Queréndaro flood rivers, and established permanent sanitary brigades to stamp out disease in the tropical part of the state.

For thirteen months he took charge of the National Revolutionary Party, the official organization of the country—then in a bad state of schism—perfected its organ-

ization, strengthened the “left” elements, and raised a party fund of 600,000 pesos to be used for rural credits. Next he was called to head the cabinet of Ortiz Rubio.

The public now smelled out that he was perhaps slated to be the next President. This did not add to his prestige, for backstage dictator Calles, on whom his election would depend, was even before 1933 thoroughly unpopular. Cárdenas, therefore, was considered just another dutiful member of “the gang,” just “another general,” who could be expected to continue the dictatorial acts of the régime.

Nor was he helped by his physical appearance. A young wiry chap, he had not yet developed the avoirdupois and jowl, the commanding bulk that one expects in chief executives. His face was bony and severe and he bore the unmistakable signs of his village origin: by those not knowing him personally, he might easily have been confused with any small town mestizo official, more Indian than Spanish. His complexion was dark, made even darker by 16 years of campaigning; he had straight black hair and black eyes; and his stringy moustache was typically indicative of the mestizo predominantly Indian. With his prominent nose, long pointed head, he seemed like an ancient portrait in one of the Aztec picture codices, a face and cranium such as one sees in the classic stone idols of the pre-Spanish days. One of his children is even named “Cuatemoc,” after the martyred Aztec emperor. People said contemptuously, using an expression levelled at persons risen from humble origin: “He smells of the *petate*.” But since over half of Mexico’s population sleeps Oriental fashion on straw mats, this should have been considered high praise, proof that he was a man of the people who might perhaps be for the people—the counterpart of our log-cabin to President legend. Certainly, face to face with Cárdenas, one senses his power, his patience, tranquillity, deliberateness of movement, his force. He is laconic, uses few gestures; his words, never evasive, strike the bull’s eye.

By 1933 two men stood face to face as

contenders for the mastery of the destinies of Mexico—Calles and Cárdenas. The people were not aware of it. Apparently neither was Calles. But Cárdenas undoubtedly was. He was chosen unanimously as the 1933 presidential nominee at the Calles-bossed national convention of the National Revolutionary Party, which also issued the famous "Six Year Plan" as a political platform. The Six Year Plan was an ambitious program of education, sanitation, public works, land reform, and improvement of labor standards.

With full official support, Cárdenas, even if he had stayed home and knitted, would have been elected. But he made an unprecedented tour, covering nearly thirty thousand kilometers in plane, steamship, rowboat, launch, sail-boat, train and, on horseback. He visited every nook and corner of the republic, even to remote villages requiring many days in the saddle, villages that never had seen a candidate. He made speeches, mingled with the people, ate their humble food, visited their fields, asked them what they wanted. A school? Irrigation? Land? Tools? A road? Mausers for self-defense against hacienda guards?

"Promises. More demagogery," said the knowing.

He promised to carry out the Six Year Program. He declared that Mexico had to follow its own development in accordance with its institutions, traditions, and the aspirations of the revolution. He voiced his opposition both to monopoly capitalism and to communism. He stressed the need gradually to recover the resources of the country from the hands of foreigners in order to restore them to Mexicans. His general point of view was collectivist, but he decried the Russian method of creating an authoritarian type of "State capitalism." Efforts in Mexico would be directed toward putting land, implements and industries directly into the hands of the peasants and workers organized cooperatively, and to the extent that they became organized and revealed capacity.

"More demagogery," said the cynical.

Calles campaigned for Cárdenas. But



Pictures

PRESIDENT OF MEXICO: Once called a "simpleton," Lázaro Cárdenas has proved to the people that he is one of the most brilliant political strategists in public affairs in Mexico's history. "He achieved by astuteness what had invariably cost Mexico blood and violence."

even before the speech-making was over, rumors of cooling feelings between the dictator and his young candidate were afloat. Calles suddenly retired to his luxurious Cuernavaca retreat. After the ballots were counted, the pro-Calles politicians became anxious. They could not get near Cárdenas. He was always too far off in the hills among the peasants for men of weight easily to ride after him. New rumors of quarrels between Cárdenas and Calles.

But when Cárdenas' first cabinet was an-

nounced, the old crowd was happy. Only two of the new President's known personal followers figured. All the rest were creatures of Calles, even two relatives, a son and an uncle. The Secretary of Public Health was the new husband of "Cholita" González, for years Calles' private secretary, now not quite so fair as of old. Another was Calles' personal lawyer.

"Cárdenas is a simpleton," said the knowing. "He doesn't know how to exercise his new authority."

But out in the country he was the most popular president Mexico had ever had. If he paid little attention to the big and glittering matters of state, he was building up a rural political machine, cell by cell, from the bottom up. Since his previous presidency of the official party, he largely controlled that also. He now managed to see a clear majority of his own men elected to the national Chamber and Senate.

Soon it was seen there was really fire behind the smoke of rumored difficulties between the two leaders. What was it feeding on?

The Mexican revolution, begun as a political reform in 1910 by Madero, soon deepened by 1915-16 to a program of land for the peasants and protection for labor, education, restriction of foreign ownership, etc.

Calles Changes His Policies

But in 1926 Calles, after promoting all these things, suddenly made an about face, soon after denounced his own land policies, and through the subsequent efforts of President Ortiz Rubio brought land-distribution to an end; through Portes Gil, Calles destroyed all labor and peasant organizations by force and terrorism and founded the National Revolutionary Party, with a monopoly upon all the political activities of the country. All elements outside that party were persecuted. Strike leaders, political opponents, peasant leaders, Catholics were murdered or seized and shipped off to the Islas Marias penal islands, usually without trial. When rumblings from the interior became too great, Calles would

throw up a smoke-screen of anti-clericalism or false nationalism to divert public attention. The church would be socked till futile armed revolts were pricked into life. The Jews were molested. In Sonora, Governor Rodolfo Calles, son of the dictator, drove the Chinese out by threats, violence, murder and theft of property. In short, the National Revolutionary Party (somewhat like Bryce's Holy Roman Empire) during that period was neither "national" nor "revolutionary" nor "a party."

The change in policy by Calles coincided with the enrichment of the ruling political clique at the expense of the movement they had led to power. Calles and his group had become large landowners themselves, owners of factories and mines, hence had less and less sympathy for the movement that had hoisted them into office. And so by 1933 when Cárdenas was elected, Mexico had become a land of millionaire Socialists, of knight-errant capitalists, where the owners of luxurious gambling dens, of mines and factories and plantations, made throbbing speeches in behalf of the proletariat and the peasants. Calles had taken up golf—the destinies of the state safely lodged in the hands of President Abelardo Rodríguez, his business partner, and the wealthiest man in the republic.

As in most totalitarian régimes where legitimate opposition parties cannot function, intrigue festered within the ruling party. Two groups developed "right" and "left," the one controlled by the "millionaire Socialists," the second by younger and more sincere elements. It was this second element that Calles, in electing Cárdenas, utilized, apparently hoping to play the two groups off against each other.

Soon alarmed by Cárdenas' independence, rapid popularity and growing strength, Calles again attempted to create difficulties which only he could settle: he baited the Church, causing much controversy, and he precipitated an epidemic of strikes.

Cárdenas now showed his hand—three times—and crumpled Calles' power forever.

He ordered seized the luxurious gambling dens secretly maintained by the big-wig officials of the previous administration, striking at their income and at their prestige in a manner against which they could not publicly protest.

Next, he broke Garrido Canabal, Calles' handy man in the anti-clerical crusade. Canabal—thrust into the Ministry of Agriculture by Calles—sent his personal "Red Shirts" to Coyoacán, a very Catholic suburb, where they stirred up a riot one Sunday in front of the second oldest church on the American mainland and shot half a dozen defenseless men, women, and girls emerging from Mass. Cárdenas, without hesitation, refused to release the assailants, declared they would be punished, the laws enforced. He assured the Catholics that they were secure in their legal rights. Canabal sought in every way to free his henchmen, but suddenly took a plane for his native state of Tabasco, where he had ruled like an Oriental despot for more than a decade; soon after, he fled to Costa Rica.

Presently Calles denounced "the marathon of strikes," which he himself had been in good part responsible for causing. Again Cárdenas put himself on firm legal ground. He issued a nation-wide reprimand to Calles. The constitution and the laws guaranteed the right of collective bargaining and to strike. Strikes were a symptom of prosperity and rising living standards. The legal means for declaring strikes and also the machinery for settling them existed. The laws would be enforced.

Calles Is Forced Out

A wave of popular indignation submerged Calles. Great demonstrations were staged against him. The soldiery of Cárdenas had to protect Aznáres, Calles' Mexico City residence, against attacking mobs. The peasants seized Calles' Santa Barbara estate which had come into his hands through a dubious tax-delinquency sale. Calles' control of the army was seen to be a myth. The Calles governors in the states were too harassed to give him effective aid. The Church, if it did not particu-

larly like Cárdenas, had discovered he had a sense of fair play and legality, hence that institution was not inclined to back a worse Jacobin for a lesser one. And finally, the National Revolutionary Party, Calles' own creation, was definitely under Cárdenas' thumb. Calles was done.

Fearing for his life Calles fled by plane to the United States. Later he returned, attempting to stir up more trouble. He and three followers, including the discredited labor leader, Luis N. Morones, were then seized, put on a plane and dumped anew into the United States. Calles landed in San Antonio with a copy of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* under his arm.

Cárdenas was at last President in his own right. Rapidly he drove the Calles faction out of public posts, restricted its power until it was impotent. The surprised country rubbed its eyes to discover that Cárdenas was one of the most brilliant political strategists in public affairs. He had achieved by astuteness what had invariably cost Mexico blood and violence.

The immediate pressure which broke Calles' hold was from the left. But Cárdenas now installed a wide coalition cabinet, chosen with a canny eye to real political forces rather than to ideology. It ranged from the radical General Múgica, dreaming of a proletarian state, to the conservative General Cedillo, known to be friendly with the large-landowners and the state, but controlling a sort of private army of ten thousand armed men. Cárdenas' new government was, in short, a sort of Popular Front affair, similar to that in France and Spain.

Calles régime had been a rule by a fairly narrow clique through a totalitarian party. Cárdenas widened out the basis of government in more democratic fashion. Now, except for the ousted Calles group, full liberty of political expression and of the press is guaranteed. The National Revolutionary Party no longer has an official monopoly on all the political activities and the spoils of office. It has become a party in its own right in a more pluralistic system. To those who see government as a neat dogmatic

pattern instead of a general trend, for those who put ideological clarity above all else, the result is as appalling as President Roosevelt's efforts are for the extreme radicals and "the economic royalists." But if Cárdenas at this juncture had attempted to govern with any particular group, he could have done so only through harsh dictatorship, constant disorder and wholesale bloodshed. He himself would have soon been displaced. Perhaps compromise and concessions to widely different groups blur the picture and postpone the final reckoning, but in the meantime Cárdenas has been able to give Mexico a great impulse toward

land reform, education, progress, and reconstruction as have few presidents in its history.

One may not agree with Cárdenas' proposals, one may argue that the land policy involves much injustice, one may feel that Mexico's ideas of property tenure are widely different from our own, but no one can well deny that Cárdenas is extremely popular, has integrated wider and more effective support than any leader in many years, that he has the public welfare at heart, and that he gets concrete things done rapidly, efficiently and courageously. He tends to them in person if necessary.

Where a Smile Goes Far

MEXICO is a wonderful country—rich in natural resources—rich in her historical background—rich in her scenic and recreational attractions—and specially rich in the friendliness of her people.

In no country in the world could a smile pay bigger dividends than it does in Mexico. Courtesy will be fully repaid.

Many Americans enter Mexico with the feeling that they may fall among thieves. This is an unworthy obsession, for there are no more honest people than the rank and file among Mexicans.

Let me recite an incident by way of illustration: An American tourist on the new highway stopped overnight at a small hotel. Fearful of being robbed, he put his purse, containing all his cash, his tourist card and driver's license, under his pillow. Next morning he was early on his way.

With more than a hundred miles spun out, this careful traveler sought his purse, to pay for gas. Horrors! It was not in his pocket. A feverish search of the car, then recollection. He must go back to look for it; but thought he, a fat chance I have of finding it. He left his watch as security for fuel, and drove back.

Arriving hot and bothered at the hotel, he dashed upstairs toward the room he had occupied. The room was not there! All that was left was the floor. Rushing to the office, he told the proprietor of his loss. What had become of the room? Ah, workmen were enlarging the house. That part was to be rebuilt. A pocketbook? No, he had seen no pocketbook.

Just then the porter strolled in. Señor had lost a pocketbook? Oh, yes! He had found it when they moved the furniture. It was now on the shelf under the counter. And there it was!

—*Modern Mexico*

SPAIN'S REBEL CHIEFS

*A case history of the insurgent leaders,
their past suggesting a doubtful future*

By L. F. GITTLER

WHATEVER the military fortunes of the Spanish rebels—and these will depend essentially upon foreign governments, there exist from within as well as from without the insurgent ranks powerful forces that will ultimately undermine them. For the rebels suffer from a conspicuous lack, not only of mass support, but of competent leaders. There are no Hitlers, no Goerings, nor a Mussolini, a Balbo, nor a Rosenberg in the Burgos junta. And within the rebel movement Spain finds its old enemies of the militant Army, militant Church, militant Carlism, and decadent Alfonsism, all thrown together into an unholy alliance of hodge-podge pseudo-fascism far removed from the political consciousness and aspirations of the Spanish people. One has only to refer to the case-histories of the rebel chieftains to see reflected all the conflicts and inadequacies which sap their whole movement.

Francisco Franco

Regardless of whether Franco is another Kornilov or Wrangel, he is not and cannot be the "strong man" of Spain after the stereotyped pattern of contemporary European despots. Fate has lifted him to a position which—outside of the military aspect—is beyond him. He is the last and least capable of a long string of Spanish military dictators, beginning with General Narvaez, creator of the Civil Guard and the man who said "Spain is a nation of rascals and needs an iron hand to keep it in order." Franco is a product of the de Rivera dictatorship and the personal inspiration of General Sanjurjo. At 30 he was commander of the Foreign Legion, and at 32 became the

youngest general in the Spanish Army. He comes from Galicia where he was born Francisco Baamonde Franco 45 years ago. Galicia is that part of Spain most closely allied to Portugal in language, temperament, and economy. Franco's family was of the middle class, Galicia being a territory of small farms where the land is more evenly distributed than in the rest of Spain.

General Franco is an efficient military servant, an Army bureaucrat and administrator who never meddled much in politics. He is small, somewhat rotund, quiet, resourceful with a puffy face and a perpetual ironical grin which gives the effect of a slightly contemptuous air. He doesn't like theatricals, is neither fanatic nor frantic. He is not a man of the people, nor does he appeal to the idolatry and sentimental imagination of the mass. He is more a friend and efficient weapon of political combinations than great mass movements. Unknown, unheralded, he has always "performed his duty" while his brother, Ramón Franco, reaped fame as the "Spanish Lindbergh" and for his activities in the spectacular events of Cuatros Vientos.

Under the Republic General Franco was Chief of Staff. When Sanjurjo's coup was crushed in 1932, Franco remained secretly in sympathy with his master and superior. The Asturian rebellion of 1934 found him at the head of Moors and Legionaries sent into the chaotic landscape of the Asturias to smash the resistance of miners and peasants. The People's Front Government sent him to the Canary Isles in the spring of 1936 in their bloodless army "purge." From the Canaries Franco flew to Morocco in July, ordered the High Commissioner of Morocco shot, and whipped his native



Times Wide World

THE "FRONT": "Neither a Republican, Fascist, Alfonsist, nor Carlist," General Franco tries to please all, but will never be Spain's "strong man." Here, he tries on a helmet that should please the Germans.

troops and Legionaries into fighting action.

The selection of Franco as sub-Fuehrer to Sanjurjo was a strategic move. Franco is neither a Republican, Fascist, Alfonsist, nor Carlist. Thus he could unite all groups within Spain harboring the revisionist spirit. Moreover, he had had extensive experience with Moorish troops and the Foreign Legion. He knew how to negotiate with the Sultan of Spanish Morocco for a steady supply of soldiers; he knew how to talk to the Moroccan regiments and make them fight. He was drab enough in spirit and personality so that certain individuals were not afraid he would gobble up more than his portion of the Spanish pie. Since he was sworn in as commander-in-chief of the rebel forces at Burgos on October 1, he has in no way distinguished himself other than by his naive speeches and terrorist tactics of military warfare. He is no orator and no diplomat. His ideal remains that of Sanjurjo and de Rivera—to make the Army the supreme power in Spain. It is signifi-

cant that in the Burgos scheme of things a place is reserved for an executive, a central figure who is capable of pushing all the buttons. No one (not even Franco himself) believes that Franco will ever occupy that chair.

José Sanjurjo

As General Franco is more an incident than a prime mover in the Spanish rebellion, it is necessary to dig a little deeper. Most of the frightened landowners, industrialists, Clericals, and insecure Army officers were grouped around Gil Robles and his C.E.D.A. (Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rights). Señor Robles made clandestine journeys to Lisbon when General José Sanjurjo y Sacanell, also known as the Marquis de Rif, was living in exile. A nucleus of action was built around Sanjurjo, a former Army leader feared and admired by Primo de Rivera, Alfonso, and the Republic alike. Like Robles, Sanjurjo was now astute and cautious. When it was seen that the People's Front would brush aside the C.E.D.A., he realized that a pronunciamento was as obsolete as the flintlock. Sanjurjo went to Berlin on the German liner *General San Martin* in February 1936. As he embarked in Portugal he told interviewers: "I am not a conspirator. I would not know how to be one for I have never been one. I am only a man who fights for Spain."

The facts would seem to belie this statement. Sanjurjo's whole life was one of intrigue and impulsive action, shrewdness and folly. He was born in 1872 in Madrid, and 22 years later he left for Cuba to participate in the last Cuban War. In 1920 he became a general, and the following year the massacre of 8,000 young Spaniards at Anual by Moors shook Spain. Public indignation and clamor for an investigation of military responsibility set the civil administration and militarist juntas at each other's throat. The "Moroccan affair" had to be hushed up; military juntas were feverishly preventing the state machinery from functioning. Weary reformists like Antonio Maura exclaimed: "Let those



Pictures

THE CONSPIRATOR: Fate prevented General Sanjurjo from leading the rebellion, to secure aid for which he sailed for Germany in February 1936 on the General San Martin.

finally govern who do not allow others to govern!" General Primo de Rivera in Barcelona heeded this advice and, in the autumn of 1923, hastened to Madrid, where he nullified the Constitution of 1876 and set up a military directory. Sanjurjo, head of the garrison in Saragossa, seconded de Rivera's coup. Thereafter, the Army had a free hand in Morocco. Sanjurjo returned to Africa and, in a series of sensational battles, crushed the last Moorish resistance. He was named High Commissioner of Morocco, and the King bestowed upon him the title of Marquis de Monte Malmusi.

Sanjurjo soon became one of the main props of the dictatorship. As Director of the Civil Guard, he engaged General Emilio Mola as organizer of a police and spy system with a terrorist character which ferreted out Republicans, labor agitators, and "illegal" organizations. But the Military Directory was inherently weak, and its task was made doubly more difficult in the face of a strong anti-military spirit among the population. Primo de Rivera antagon-

ized artillery officers and the air force. He even incurred the displeasure of Sanjurjo. In 1930 the Dictator fled to Paris, where he died a short time later. With his flight, Republican agitation increased, labor organizations called strikes, and two military revolts—part of a plan adopted by the Republican Revolutionary Committee—demonstrated the spirit of the times. Alfonso became frantic. His cabinet ministers advised him to abdicate, while his opponents demanded general elections. The Bourbon King was as isolated as a leper in his grandiose residence. As a final card he called General Sanjurjo to the royal palace. He asked him if he were prepared to accompany and protect him as his position demanded. The General was not averse to the Dictator's chair, but he knew the time was overripe. He was thinking of the split in the Army, the Republican-Socialist alliance, de Rivera dead in Paris. The Conqueror of the Riff smiled. "Sire," he said, "I am ready to accompany and defend you—to the frontier."

With many others Sanjurjo believed the Republic would "accommodate" him. In the following 18 months he saw with dismay the laws separating Church and state, the retirement of hundreds of Army officers, agrarian reform, and the growth of labor unions. More with a morbid homesick urge than with organization and foresight, Sanjurjo went to Seville in August 1932, declared himself Governor of Andalusia and tried to rouse the Army. Fortunately, it was a clear illustration that law by decree, acceptance by force was relegated to the tyranny of the nineteenth century. The Government brought in Moors to crush Sanjurjo, who was arrested and sentenced to die. A plea for clemency changed his punishment to life imprisonment. For 500 days he occupied cell 52 in Deuso penitentiary. The reactionary Government of December 1933 freed him in the amnesty of April 1934. The General left immediately for Portugal where he lived in the Villa Leocadia in Estoril, a beach resort on the outskirts of Lisbon. There he acted as political agent abroad for the Robles fac-

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THE "BOSS": *Gil Robles, a strong clerical, an admirer of the German Nazis, and an astute politician, is the potential Spanish dictator.*

tion. On July 20 he left his villa to board a plane nearby for Salamanca to assume command of the rebel forces. His plane never rose higher than 20 feet. It crashed, and there was a terrific explosion. Ansaldo, the pilot, found Sanjurjo caught in the fuselage, his body burned to an unrecognizable state.

Gil Robles

With the failure of Sanjurjo's coup in 1932, a comparatively new figure began to organize and dominate the Right. His name was José María Gil Robles, then a 35-year-old lawyer and deputy from Salamanca. Robles had practised law in Madrid, where he was a force in the Catholic Acción Popular and counsel for various Jesuit groups. He formed the C.E.D.A. early in 1933. It amalgamated the Army juntas, Church, landowners, and industrialists. This solid Rightist bloc weakened the Republicans considerably by splitting the Left parties, reviving *caciquismo* (bossism), and engineering corrupt elections. Robles was ap-

pointed to the Chair of Political Economy at the University of Salamanca. Later, as Minister of War in the Lerroux cabinets, he made close contacts in Army circles and won their favor by reinstating many of the officers retired by the Republicans. The Church received its lands back as well as compensation for other losses incurred. Robles organized the Protección Ciudadana, a group of 2,000 men armed with machine-guns and revolvers aimed "to protect nuns and Catholic voters"; in reality, they broke strikes and acted as terrorists who returned Leftist violence with redoubled fury.

After the People's Front victory, Robles flirted with the fascist Falange Espanola, which had a widespread growth in 1936. The organization was run by Primo de Rivera's sons, who were implicated in the Sanjurjo *putsch*. Robles arranged for the Fascists to meet in churches and store their arms there. While military plans were being hatched in Lisbon, Robles was busy preparing the ground in Madrid. An intricate spy system was set up, which today still is a disturbing factor within Government ranks. Francisco Cambó, the Catalan financier and landowner, appeared at Robles' side with his Lliga Regionalista. The immense wealth of Juan March, boss of the Balearic Isles, and Count de Romanones, owner of mines and broad estates, was presented by Robles as collateral for German and Italian aid. Calvo Sotelo, banker and Alfonsist head of the party of Spanish Renovation, announced that "the Army would step in during a moment of great danger if no politician were capable of doing so." On July 12 Sotelo was murdered. A few days later, Robles went to Biarritz where he issued a statement saying that the "régime will be spattered with mud, blood, and misery."

Gil Robles has never concealed his admiration for the German Nazis. But, being a *Vaticanista*, his political philosophy resembles more the clerico-fascist régimes of Austria and Portugal. He likes to think of himself as a modern synthetic type of Catholic warrior combining Loyola and the

Conquistador. Politics mean to him sacro-sacred religion, heroic patriotism, the old Hispanic tradition of the Faith launched by the Habsburg Philip II fighting the Reformation, the infidel, and now the "materialist Asiatic beast." He calls himself an "opportunistic ideologist," willing to co-ordinate modern ideas with the traditions of the past—the Church as the will and destiny of Spain with the Army the champion thereof.

Mola and de Llano

Of the rebel generals most prominent in the civil war, Emilio Mola Vidal, commander of the northern army and Gonzalo Queipo de Llano in the south are outstanding. Mola's garrisons are in the heart of Carlist Spain. The Carlists constitute a strong faction in the insurrection. Ever since Ferdinand VII provided for the accession of his daughter Isabel to the throne instead of his brother, Don Carlos, whose claim was the more valid according to the Salic Law of Succession of 1713, the Carlists have been a thorn in the side of every Alfonsist monarch. The Carlist wars of the nineteenth century were characterized by atrocities and savage battle without quarter. These Traditionalists call Alfonso an "usurper" and will have nothing to do with Calvo Sotelo's monarchist party. They harbor a deep hatred toward the Falange Española, whose founder was a nephew of the General who crushed Don Carlos in 1874. Although basically at daggers' ends with the Spanish Fascists, they now permit themselves to be called "Nationalist Fascists." Carlists are champions of a rigid Catholicism firmly established as the official state religion and an absolutist monarchy unchecked by parliamentary control. It is claimed that 80,000 *requetes* have enlisted in the Traditionalist Army. With their red berets and green armbands decorated with a red cross, and long bushy sideburns, they look as if they had just emerged from a Gustave Doré print. Mola is the vigorous leader of the Carlist detachments in the regular northern army. Fifty years old, he stands directly under Franco in the rebel

hierarchy. Both Mola and Franco fought with Sanjurjo in Morocco, all three being decorated simultaneously for valor in action.

In contrast to the cold, efficient Franco is the impetuous personality of Queipo de Llano, the "Spanish Goebbels." On the Ramblas de Los Flores in Barcelona today there is a huge caricature of de Llano propped up on a newsstand, showing the General with mouth agape shouting into a microphone. The caption reads: "The Chatterbox." Queipo de Llano suffers from a persecution complex. In 1930 he published his only book, *Gonzalo Queipo de Llano Persecuted by the Dictatorship*. He maintained that de Rivera used him as a scapegoat and described the Dictator as "an unbalanced mentality whom medical men have affirmed to be a pathological case worthy only of being helped to a psychiatric clinic." With Ramón Franco, de Llano took part in the Cuatros Vientos revolt, flying over the city dropping leaflets on Madrid. As a result he spent 84 days in prison, became a Republican—the ultimate and most defiant threat of all Army officers—and announced that "nothing is more anarchizing than injustice." De Llano was merely a frustrated militarist picturing himself as a harassed Republican. He has a loose tongue and is as garrulous as an Andalusian. He got himself in trouble continuously with the dictatorship. General Saro once told him that "he thinks in a loud voice and his thoughts will eventually come to no good."

De Llano is 62 years old, born in Valladolid, and after an active military life became military governor of Cordova. Isolated in Seville just after the revolt, he unleashed his fury over the radio, spun fantastic stories of British intrigue and French Sudanese fighting his Spaniards, and insisted that he was being "persecuted by the reds." Until Franco arrived in Seville on July 29, de Llano used to end his speeches with the cry! "Viva la Repùblica!" He soon learned how to shout! "Arriba España!" and "Viva la Muerte" ("Long Live Death," Foreign Legion slogan) and "Long

Live King Christ!" He exhorted Andalusia to "open the gates of the cities to the Soldados Libertadores" and boastfully proclaimed that Sanjurjo's embalmed corpse would be carried into Madrid at the head of his troops.

De Llano is tall, thin, and speaks with a powerful raucous voice. He is a lover of ritual, pomp, and theatrical processions, even decorating the Moors under him with religious images. There is no humor in the man. He strides through flower-strewn paths mobbed by pious women attempting to embrace him. He makes a practice of "killing ten reds for every Nationalist murdered," by avenging himself on the inhabitants of the Seville working-class district, Triana. He dislikes the Falange Española, whose founder he still regards as an "unjustifiable persecutor." Nevertheless, Franco has made him happy and contented, and as long as he does that, Queipo de Llano will remain faithful to the rebel cause.

By his conciliatory policy General Franco consolidates his multicolored strings of Carlists, Fascists, Alfonsists, Berbers, Arabs, Right Republicans, Clericals, Foreign Legionaries, Germans, and Italians. But out of this melting-pot there exists neither a strong political initiative nor a broad base for mass action. There is little to choose from among the rebel leaders. The germ cell of Spanish fascism is inextricably bound up with the fastidious cult of *señoritismo* ("gentlemanhood"), a political form of snobbism that embodies all the anaemic qualities of class reaction rather than nationalist reaction. Moreover, there exists in the Spanish temperament no Messianic faith, no unconditional adoration by the masses, no complete submission to a

popular savior. The Spaniard is a pessimist and individualist. It is significant that no great leader has arisen on either side; this is not surprising for the two endemic and greatest mass movements in Spain—traditional Carlism and dynamic Anarchism—have no leaders. The Spaniard is a fighter, impulsive and fierce, but he is not a soldier; thus both sides need the aid of foreign intervention to bolster them, for the Spaniard is notoriously incapable of sustained effort, be it in peace or war.

Should loyalist Spain fall, Gil Robles would undoubtedly return to assume the role of Fuehrer backed by a powerful military force led by Franco and Mola. The restoration of the monarchy will have to wait many years before it can be attempted. The swarms of former Spanish diplomats and politicians who now buzz around Franco's palace in Salamanca and the "government" in Burgos bear all the earmarks of the famous epithet fashioned by Republicans seventy years ago—"the same dogs in other collars." Their system used to be what Spaniards call *politica de campanario* (belfry politics)—a landscape, a tower, a church, a priest, and a *cacique* (boss). Now there is much talk of "corporative organization" and "hierarchical groupings" that smack of Hitler's *Führerprinzip* and the theoretic speculations of Salvador de Madariaga, the discredited author of *Jerarquía o Anarquía (Hierarchy or Anarchy)*. The stress on hierarchical organization recalls only too vividly Catholic concepts. To impress this system on the eastern coast of Spain and in industrial and mining districts will be as impossible and "heroic" an undertaking as that strange foreign policy pursued by Great Britain—defined by Anthony Eden as "restrained heroism."

HOW THE C.I.O. WORKS

*The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee
sets a new style for the labor movement*

By HERBERT HARRIS

THE night shift comes out of the mill into the yard, into the dripping grayness of an early morning in Pittsburgh. A mass of grimy-faced men, they move towards the entrance with a shuffle or a shamble or a head-up stride, converging about the gates.

Smiting their ears, the metallic lungs of a sound truck (rolling into action some 20 feet in front of them) send a slogan "Be Wise, Organize" into a pea-soup sky, piercing it with rhythmic rising insistence. Behind them a shimmer of orange flame from the mill furnace flares upward, then dies fitfully down and is gone like a match struck in rain. But the booming voice grows louder and louder, "Be Wise, Organize," quickening its tempo into a sustained shout, seeming to challenge the fog, the rain, the darkness.

At the gates, with black slickers glinting in the drear uncertain light, stand two men who hand out leaflets as the steel workers emerge, and who urge in stage-whisper tones: "You ought to join up, buddy"—"Read this and use your head"—"You ought to be with us for your own good"—"We're going to win this time"—"You can trust the C.I.O."

Along the Monongahela, and up and down the valleys of Ohio and around the flat sweeps of the Chicago area, this scene with variations was constantly enacted as the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, vigorous auxiliary of the C.I.O., swung its battering rams against "America's most impregnable fortress of the open shop."

But before any such out-in-the-open onslaught could begin, the S.W.O.C. miners and sappers had first to weaken the walls. And they, like the rest, were guided by the

canny Philip Murray, vice president of the United Mine Workers and chairman of the S.W.O.C. It was his conduct of the S.W.O.C. campaign that, in general contours, has set the style and pace for C.I.O. organizing tactics throughout the country.

It must be remembered that the C.I.O. High Command, from the very first, pro-



Gendreau

"BE WISE, ORGANIZE!": This steel worker and thousands of others found the siren song of the C.I.O. irresistible.

ceeded on the theory that if steel could be forced to yield to collective bargaining the whole industrial front could be more readily captured. Contrary to popular impression, therefore, the C.I.O. donated only \$3000 to S. H. Dalyrymple and his Rubber Workers and sent only organizers and its blessings to Mr. Homer Martin and his United Automobile Workers, although eventually the General Motors sit-downs cost the

C.I.O. \$700,000. Otherwise the C.I.O. gambled all of its might in money and men, in political pressures and persuasions, upon the success or failure of the S.W.O.C. drive. To Mr. Lewis it was to be Austerlitz or Waterloo. To his "right-arm" Mr. Murray it was to be an ordeal of tautening tensions, of thwartings, and of triumphs great and small.

Murray's Background

Murray was equipped for his job. Due largely to his own organizing talents, exercised over a period of 29 years, the United Mine Workers with its membership of 540,000 has grown into the strongest union in North America. He grew up among men who must earn their bread in the callouses of their hands, in the sweat of their collective brow. He was born on May 25, 1886, in Lanarkshire on the west coast of Scotland. He was educated in the public schools until the age of 10 when he began working next to his father in the pit, helping him to load an extra car daily in the coal mines of Baird and Company, Limited. At 16, young Murray, already ambitious and sure that his future at home was limited to a deadening extent, migrated to the United States. He obtained a full-fledged miner's job with the Easton Coke and Coal Company at Madison, Pennsylvania. Discussion with his father and his father's friends had soon convinced him that unionism was the only method by which the wage-earner could improve his lot. His experiences in the American mine served only to confirm this view. He joined the Madison local of the U.M.W., devoting himself to its expansion. Gregarious by nature, liking to talk with people, to draw them out, he proved an excellent missionary for the union faith. At 18 he was elected president of his own local of 750 men. In the meantime he studied at night, taking a two-year commercial course in the International Correspondence School. He "majored" in accounting, bookkeeping, economics, and business English, hoping someday to transform his new knowledge into a key that would unlock the financial mysteries of mining. Since

then his career has been inextricably linked up with his union's advances and setbacks, until today he is regarded in many quarters as the "Crown Prince," as Lewis' successor as head of the U.M.W., and even of the C.I.O.

At 50 Murray radiates a quiet vitality. In appearance he somewhat resembles Lewis Stone, the movie actor. His brow is broad and philosophic, his hair white, his eyes dark brown. He speaks slowly, thoughtfully, with a Scotch burr. He has a wry humor, its tartness tempered by a Scottish-Covenanter earnestness. He dresses like a small-town banker—blue suit, blue tie, black shoes, gray overcoat and hat to match. A student of British trade unionism, in both its economic and political aspects, he has always been anxious to avoid the infrastructural fights dogging that movement at every turn.

The Accomplices

The need for complete unity in purpose, in program, in personnel was among his chief concerns when on July 1, 1936, the first \$500,000 for the S.W.O.C. offensive had been raised by the U.M.W. (\$150,000), by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (\$100,000), and by the International Ladies Garment Workers (\$225,000), with the remaining \$25,000 contributed by various other C.I.O. affiliates. Encouraged by the amount of his ammunition and, like all Scotsmen, determined to make every penny count, Murray set up headquarters in the very heart of steel, in Pittsburgh. He rented a suite of offices on the 36th floor of the Grant Building, which houses more of steel's officialdom than any other building in the country. Riding up and down in elevators both steel executives and unionists had to guard their conversation lest a careless word be overheard to give aid and comfort to the enemy.

Like a good general he surrounded himself with an able, resourceful staff. As Regional Director for the Pittsburgh area, he selected lanky, gray-haired Clinton S. Golden, former locomotive engineer, chicken-farmer, and one-time New Deal



Times Wide World

PHILIP MURRAY AT DETROIT: "It is an outlook which, as embodied in the C.I.O., spurns the derby-wearing, cigar-chewing, 'I'm tough, see,' walking delegate of bygone days."

representative for the N.L.R.B. For Golden's right and left bowers, Mr. Murray installed smart, scrappy Lee Pressman, quondam attorney for Mr. Hopkins' W.P.A., and the knowing, quick-witted Vincent Sweeney, quondam star reporter for the Pittsburgh *Press*.

Among Mr. Golden's first functions was to persuade Michael Francis Tighe, oak-hearted pilot of the ill-fated Amalgamated Union of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers to relinquish the steering-wheel to the S.W.O.C. crew. And on September 3, 1936, Mr. Tighe—symbol of an old passing order in labor things—resigned his post, taking with him many ghosts of those "jurisdictional disputes" which had haunted and hindered unionism in steel for a generation. While this obstacle to closer harmony was

being removed, Mr. Pressman concentrated on ways and means of cracking wide open various city ordinances in company towns which sought to prohibit such "union activities" as the exercise of free speech and freedom of assembly. Mr. Sweeney started to establish friendly relations with editors, correspondents for news services, radio commentators, ministers, educators, politicians and many other people who, in one way or another, could influence public opinion and help to whip up sympathy for the S.W.O.C. and its aims. He also dug diligently into files of complaints from steel workers, complaints ranging from overlong hours to defective smoke glasses, and boots and gloves which, supplied by the company, weren't properly treated with chemicals to withstand heat and prevent dis-

comfort and burns. Grievances which might strike a recognition spark of "why, that's my trouble, too" were boiled down into pamphlets of simple prose.

"The most difficult thing, we were up against," said Mr. Murray recently in an exclusive *Current History* interview, "was an intangible. It was fear—fear of fellow-workers, of foremen, of superintendents, of neighbors—for in most steel plants even a kind word about a union meant loss of your job—and a probable black-listing, besides."

The abrogation of civil liberties in steel dates from June 22, 1892. It was on this day that Andrew Carnegie, dissatisfied with his tremendous profits from the \$25,000,000 Carnegie Steel Company, decided to make a few thousands more a week for himself by cutting wages. He ordered his good Man Friday, Henry Clay Frick, to smash the "Amalgamated Union" and its collective bargaining claims and to spare neither money nor mercy in doing it. After the bloodshed of the famed Pinkerton battle, in which Homestead workers, striking against this new open-shop policy, drove detectives out of town with guns, Mr. Frick with the aid of 8,000 militia finally carried out his instructions and broke the back of unionism in steel for years to come. During the many weeks of this turbulence and strife Mr. Carnegie in Skibo Castle, Scotland, meditated upon the loveliness of libraries and the enlightenment that leads to brotherhood and peace. And for more than 40 years thereafter the "Frick method" of using every weapon to instill in workers' minds awe and terror of the company's all-pervasive power—legal, political, economic—kept steel aggressively, even boastfully, an open shop.

Fighting Fear

The 150 organizers dispatched to steel's four corners by Mr. Murray were coached in measures to banish the banshee of all this apprehension. They told puddlers, rollers, and the rest that "times" were different, that their hour had come. During the first stages of the S.W.O.C. drive, in furtive gatherings in dingy halls, a speaker would

end his exhortation with a punch-line gesture sure to bring down the house. He would cross his middle and index finger, lean confidentially towards his audience and say: "And I tell you, boys, John L. Lewis and President Roosevelt, why, they're just like that," and he would hold his entwined fingers high in the air until the full import of his remark sank in. "Like that, like that. . ." were the words and gestures repeated by thousands of steel workers to whom the very concept that a President of the United States could be at least friendly to one of their leaders was at first incredible and then a possible pathway to paradise.

In Pennsylvania, S.W.O.C. organizers proved their contention that times had changed in dramatic fashion. Lieutenant Governor of the Quaker State was, and is, Thomas Kennedy, a U.M.W. member and an ardent unionist. Often S.W.O.C. emissaries called on him to supply State troopers to protect their squadrons from unduly hostile local authorities. It was a common sight in Pennsylvania, especially during the fall and winter of 1936-37, to see State troopers, armed to the teeth, preserving law and order in steel towns while S.W.O.C. orators proclaimed the new day from street corners or sound-trucks.

It was not until the atmosphere had been cleared of fear, until the workers' sales-resistance to unionism and its consequences had been replaced by the consumer acceptance generated by S.W.O.C. propaganda, that Mr. Murray felt ready to begin signing up members.

The first job, of course, was to create contacts with key men who would serve as radial centers for the dissemination of S.W.O.C. doctrine. At the outset, Mr. Murray and his aides sought mainly to interest former members of the Amalgamated Union, or others with union background such as mine-workers who had left the pit for puddling. And to ward off suspicion of group gatherings a S.W.O.C. organizer would ask a new convert to hold a raffle at his home. While the lucky numbers were drawn and the women gossiped, a man here, another there, was taken in a corner

and sold the S.W.O.C. program. He was then asked to suggest the names of other prospects. By this means an "active list" was quickly built up. Sometimes, of course, a poker party or a horseshoes tournament in a backyard served as rallying point for potential S.W.O.C. adherents. Dues were one dollar a month for the employed. The jobless were admitted without charge. All income from dues was ploughed back into the locality whence it came and used for hiring a hall, for printing handbills, and the like. As soon as a new member signed his card, it was mailed hastily to headquarters in Pittsburgh to guard against a "raid" of an organizer's hotel-room upon some trumped-up charge.

The S.W.O.C. field men next turned to fostering alliances between the many fraternal societies, the "Lithuanian Lodges," the "Polish Mutual Benefits," and "Czechoslovakian Sokols," along with church groups and card clubs and even Legion Posts. At the outset a series of conventions was held in every community. Every segment of steel's working populace, racial and religious, was represented by its own delegates. Officers were elected, and strategy discussed. What were the main grievances at Youngstown's big rolling mill? And would little Bill Dombrowski be a good man to head up a shop committee in Aliquippa? Was Argenti to be trusted? Everyone said his brother was a stool. After a time the community conventions were supplanted by regular district meetings and in turn regional and national conclaves were quietly held. Meanwhile the local officers of each unit were given constant "pep-talks" to educate them in S.W.O.C. objectives and tactics. They were assured that, as leaders, they had a job which required their best, which indeed could only be accomplished if they had confidence in themselves, disciplined their followers, and maintained complete devotion to "the cause."

Assaulting Company Unions

Last but not least on the S.W.O.C. schedule was the maneuver to win over and

absorb the company unions. When section 7a of the N.I.R.A. promised a new era in collective bargaining, steel was among the first industries to set up such employee representation groups to evade any independent unionism. From the employers' standpoint, it was a mistake. The company union, despite all its restrictions of management control, taught the men to act in concert. It taught them to formulate demands. It taught them parliamentary procedure. It "gave them ideas." It gave them a voice, however weak, in running *their* industry. And when too often management refused to rectify abuses brought to its attention by company union spokesmen, an under-the-surface revolt, national in scope, began to simmer. More and more the workers were convinced that through the device of the company union they had been soft-soaped into ineffectuality. They believed with increasing fervor and ferment that their real interests had been betrayed by benefits which existed chiefly on paper.

To crystallize this atmosphere of discontent Mr. Murray sent out word that the S.W.O.C. would be glad to help company union chieftains in gaining their goals. The S.W.O.C. legal division would be delighted to supply pointers in questions of law. The research department would be equally pleased to furnish facts and figures on how much a particular steel corporation paid in dividends last year, the size of official salaries and bonuses, and the amount of its capital reserves. At the same time, leaders of company unions were button-holed, beered-with, brought into the S.W.O.C. line of thinking. A number of them came over bag and baggage to the S.W.O.C. by the end of summer, 1936. Then at a conference of company union groups on September 16, 1936, it was voted to help the S.W.O.C. gain control of the two most powerful employee representation units: the Calumet Central Committee (Chicago) and the Pittsburgh Central Committee. When this result was achieved by special elections, lobbyings, and borings from within, a joint board representing both Calumet and Pittsburgh bodies, and

studded with S.W.O.C. advisers, was ready for business. It promptly adopted a new wage program asking a five dollar per day minimum for common labor as against the four dollar per day that had just been established by steel corporations to "ward off the menace of the C.I.O., and the communism of John L. Lewis."

This basic demand was followed up by others asking strict enforcement of seniority rights, vacations with pay, protective provisions such as better ventilation, and recognition of this S.W.O.C.-controlled joint board as the collective bargaining agency.

"We kept them constantly biting at the heels of management," says Mr. Murray, "for these concessions. We made certain of one thing—facts. We triple-checked our facts on company earnings, and ability to pay higher wages."

The Big Push

At about this point, coinciding with Roosevelt's re-election, Mr. Murray decided that the days of quietness were over, and that the day of skirling bagpipes had arrived. He had spent about \$75,000 a month; he had signed up 50,000 members; he had coordinated the activities of all pro-S.W.O.C. groups in steel. He felt prepared for a really big push.

From the late fall of 1936 through the turn of the year, the S.W.O.C. let go with everything it had: rallies, speakers, leaflets, pamphlets, posters, radio broadcasts, meetings in the street, at home, in a bar, conferences and parades to celebrate again the victories of various "labor candidates" at the polls. The response was overwhelming. Nearly 2,000 new members a day began swamping the facilities of S.W.O.C. regional offices.

Stream-line Unionism

Speeding into steel towns where to mention union was a heresy went cars carrying S.W.O.C. flying squadrons. On many occasions they were accompanied by special investigators from Washington, D. C. with banners draped over the hood of their automobiles and carrying the legend:

"CAR OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE"

LA FOLLETTE CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE. *Investigators*

Local authorities — policemen, sheriffs, company guards—took a long hard look at this cavalcade and sighed. It was impossible to shoot, club, or tear-gas this aggregation. For all they knew they might hurt a Senator or something, and then where in hell would they be? It was the turning point, as word traveled quickly that even Weirton had been invaded by this technique.

On March 2, 1937, Carnegie-Illinois signed its famous agreement with the S.W.O.C., ending an era.

Today Mr. Murray's organization numbers 275,000 out of the 450,000 workers in steel. And it was the S.W.O.C. "acid-tested" tactics that are now the model and maxim for C.I.O.'s organizing drives in textiles, in oil, in aluminum, and in other mass production spheres.

Back of Mr. Murray and the S.W.O.C., of course, were John L. Lewis and the 15 unions of the C.I.O. with all its far-reaching power and prestige. Both that power and prestige derive from a new labor philosophy, the "industrial idea," the essence of which is that the vertical, centralized holding-company control over industry must be met by the same kind of control over labor. A first premise of this outlook is that the monopolies of the "Big Money" must be matched in economic and political strength by mobilizing masses of men. It is an outlook which, as embodied in the C.I.O., spurns the derby-wearing, cigar-chewing, "I'm tough, see," walking delegate of a by-gone day and all that he symbolized. It insists on brimming coffers. It hires first-rate brains. It stream-lines its strategy. It makes a fetish of efficiency. In every respect, it emulates the structure of Big Business, fighting it with its own weapons, and propelled by a kind of crusading zeal that portends profound changes in the relationship between capital and labor in the United States.

GERMANY'S NEW ROADS

*Are these Nazi highways designed for
the traffic of tourists or war tanks?*

By FRANK C. HANIGHEN

IN THE next war, generals will ride to glory not on horseback but on rubber tires. This at least may be said with certainty in a world where mechanization and motorization stand out as the watchwords of military preparedness.

What this has to do with the gigantic road-building and auto-construction program which Germany has launched is another and perhaps disputable matter. Road-building, the Germans point out, constitutes an excellent and wholly pacific method of fighting the depression. It provides an easy way of absorbing the unemployed. Increased auto production demands better communications. And tourist traffic must be accommodated.

In a Germany, however, where Dr. Schacht permits tourists only \$10 worth of the troublesome registered marks a day as spending money, the tourist argument lacks force, and the feverish haste with which the new roads have been built suggests that putting the idle to work has other motives. Besides, in a country where finances have touched the nadir of unsound economy, the expenditure of billions of marks on new roads, when the old roads ranked as some of the best in Europe, seems an extravagant gesture on the part of a frugal people. Unless, indeed, the building of roads stands on an equal plane with the similarly extravagant armament program.

Let us see what the German motorization program amounts to. Certainly no expense has been spared on the new road system. The new Reichsautobahnen, "German motor-ways," program was started in September 1933 and projected a network of new roads amounting, when finished, to 4,340 miles. By the end of 1936, the com-

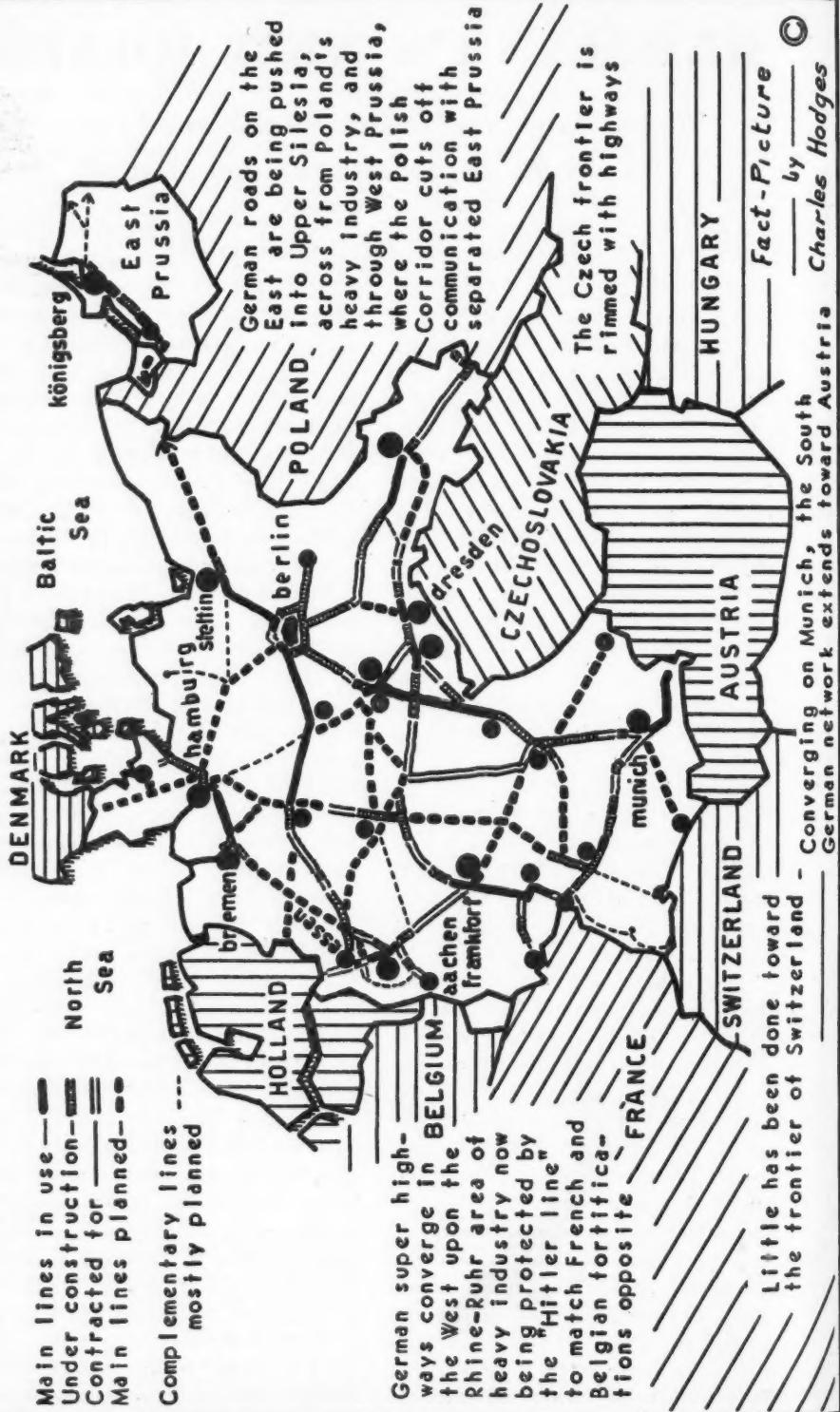
pleted roads were estimated by some observers at 600 miles, others at 1,000. In any case, in 1937, some 3,000 kilometers have been scheduled for completion and by 1939 the whole job should be done. More than 250,000 men in the Reich Labor Army have been employed at this work. On the first construction jobs, 300 million marks were expended. In 1936 one billion was allotted and this is just a start.

Such vast expenditures have gone into something more than roadscrapers and sand-pit gravel. The new roads in Germany do not resemble existing German roads (nor, indeed, few others in the world save some in the United States). The old German roads, well paved with macadam or concrete, admirably served the tourists and leisure-class motorists. But they were narrow. Only two vehicles could pass in opposite directions at a time and they featured hairpin curves. Auto traffic ran viscously through the crooked medieval streets of old German towns.

But tourists in 1939 will find a different picture. The roadbeds have been fashioned with meticulously scientific care. Soil samples have been gathered in great quantities and put to many tests in laboratories. Little earthquakes have been staged to investigate just how much strain the ground will stand. Marsh-land and sandy terrain have been removed until the rock subsurface is exposed, when the business of placing the heavy ribbon of concrete is started. The new roads are 90 per cent concrete, 5 per cent asphalt and 4 per cent stone blocks.

When completed, the roads satisfy the most exacting traffic planner. They are divided into twin speedways—each 24½ feet wide with from 4 to 6 yards of turf

GERMANY'S STRATEGIC HIGHWAYS—DOUBLE-TRACKED FOR PEACE OR WAR



between right and left thoroughfares. This interstice in many places has been planted with hedges to stop the glare of headlights. Every precaution has been taken to prevent accidents. Concrete and asphalt strips have been laid a yard wide on the outside, a half a yard wide on the inside. Deep ditches on the sides have been filled in and gently graded, and trees and other obstacles near the roads have been cut down.

Blasting and grading have eliminated steep hills and sharp curves. There are no grade crossings; bridges or underpasses take care of cross traffic. Intersecting ramps have been built with gentle grades to enable motorists to enter the roads without disturbing traffic. These highways have been routed to detour the larger towns and cities. Berlin, for instance, has a huge belt motorway girdling the city several miles outside the city limits. Through traffic approaching Berlin will simply follow this belt until it reaches the desired highway on the other side.

Concrete and Strategy

Now these are lavish accommodations for the man at the wheel, and not even the United States, where motorists are the most favored citizens, have commenced to plan roads with such scope and thoroughness. Are the new *Reichsautobahnen* merely luxuries for the owners of Hispano-Suizas? The French do not think so. General Serigny, writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, points out: "On these routes, trucks each carrying 30 men and travelling two abreast at a constant speed of 38 miles an hour and spaced fifteen meters apart would make it possible to transport 72,000 men an hour, assuming that half of the trucks were used for material. No more slow embarkations nor tedious stops in railway stations; not even bottle-necks are to be feared. The mechanized weapons of the army can be shifted from the right-wing to the left, from one theater of operations to another with a speed unheard of before. The speed of maneuvers can be increased tenfold without increasing in proportion the difficulties of supply."

The French, of course, nurse a perennial suspicion of their neighbors across the Rhine. But the British (at least until recent months) have been less alarmed about German preparations. Therefore, a quotation from *The Week of London* of last fall seems appropriate:

"The apparent slowness in constructing the new German motor roads is, in the opinion of an engineer-informant in Germany, directly related to the contemplated use of a new super-tank, which may without exaggeration be called a mobile fortress. The roads are built with the utmost care for far heavier traffic than can normally be expected to travel on motor highways."

"From one sector of the frontier to another . . ." That hardly harmonizes with recent newspaper features headed "Travel and Recreation: Germany's New Motor Roads." To an untrained observer a map of the *Reichsautobahnen* seems to reveal nothing more than a natural network of roads linking all the great centers of population, the manufacturing districts and the playgrounds (Black Forest and Rhineland). True, the roads on the west parallel the French frontier, and antennae point like warning fingers right to the French, Belgian, and Swiss frontier towns (Cologne-Aix-Le-Chapelle, Mainz-Saarbrucken, Speyer-Saarbrucken, Speyer-Basel). But these antennae might be merely to facilitate international tourist traffic.

However, in two extremely important zones, this road system has been pushed intensively for less peaceful reasons. Since the whole network will not be finished for several years and since war may break out tomorrow, the fact that these two zones have been completed now, is significant. One of the largest portions of the network, the Leipzig-Bayreuth road, stretches through country of an almost Iowa-like monotony, which certainly holds no attraction for tourists. Also this road has little importance for commercial transport, since the railways here amply serve the manufacturing centers. The Leipzig-Bayreuth *autobahn* obviously possesses but one rai-

son d'être—it draws close to the western end of Czechoslovakia, along the opposite shore from that "coast of Bohemia," which is the Prague government's most vulnerable frontier. "Who is master of Bohemia," said Bismarck, "is master of Europe." Most of Czechoslovakia's industry is concentrated in Bohemia, and here live the great majority of the three million Germans who constitute an unabsorbed and discontented part of the polyglot republic. Political commentators have long predicted that a rising of Nazi sympathizers in Bohemia would coincide with a military attack by Germany.

But Czechoslovakia has an alliance with France. France, presumably, would come to Czechoslovakia's aid if attacked by Germany. In view of this, another section of the *autobahnen* assumes great and strategic significance. When German troops occupied the Rhineland last year, it was with the open intention of preventing the French from ever succoring its Central European ally. The map indicates that French military assistance to Czechoslovakia would have its focal point in the area between Frankfort and Karlsruhe. And just between these two points another long and carefully constructed section of the *autobahnen* gives the Reich's motor army an excellent means to stop a French invasion, should it occur tomorrow. For purely military reasons, the builders of the road network have done well to complete the Frankfort-Karlsruhe section.

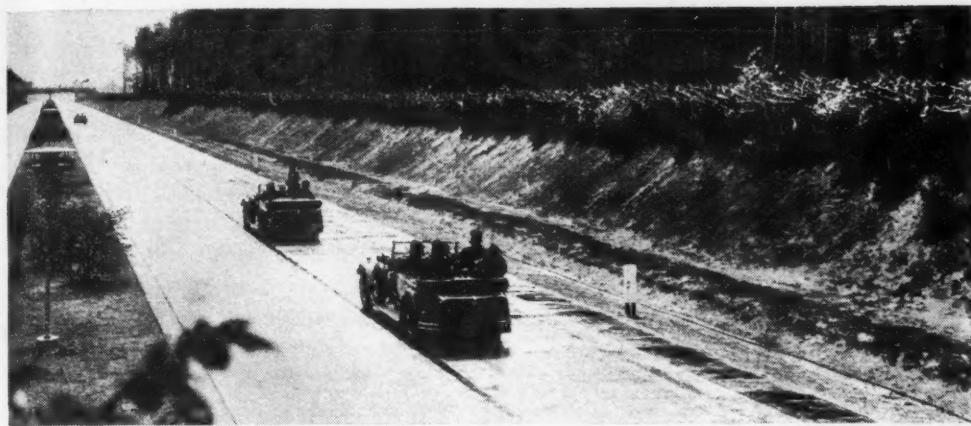
It should be mentioned that the German Staff has recently felt some doubt about the value of the present highway planning in view of the experience in the Spanish war. In Spain, the magnificent highways constructed by Primo de Rivera have been so conspicuous that they have been easy marks for attacks by both rebel and loyalist planes and as a result much traffic has sought the comparative safety of the smaller side-roads. The Germans, therefore, have been reconsidering the nature of the whole *autobahn* program and it is likely that the smaller, side roads in Germany will receive more attention.

Auto Speed-up

The most remarkable fact about Germany's motorization program, however, is not the extensive building of roads but the amazing increase in the production of motor vehicles. Germany has jumped from fifth position among world auto producers in 1932 (United States, first; Britain, second; France, third; Canada, fourth) to third place in 1935, with only the United States and Britain leading her. In 1932 Germany had but one motor vehicle to 100 inhabitants. In 1935 it had one to 59. Still a long way from the United States with one to five, it is nevertheless rapidly advancing toward France's figure, which has hovered around 22 for several years.

This extraordinary increase did not arise from the laws of demand and supply, but from a systematic program of subsidy and assistance to the motor industry. The Nazi government immediately on entering office pushed a program of "more motor cars." All public officials were subjected to constant propaganda and pressure to buy cars—or if they possessed old cars, to replace them with new. Traffic policemen had orders to stop drivers of old cars and to urge them as a patriotic duty to buy new ones. So much for the work of propaganda leader Goebbels. But Dr. Schacht, economic dictator, took even more effective steps.

One of the most important of these steps was the reduction of the heavy taxes on motor vehicles which discouraged the purchase of cars under the Weimar republic. The state took over the control of racing car construction, supervising the designing of models and supplying finances. Motor car manufacturers have been given subsidies or what amounted to subsidies. The state has participated in motor stock issues and has given free land for factories, exemption from taxes and dumping bonuses to motor firms. It has also encouraged mergers and the reduction of the number of types of cars. Thus, 17 firms in 1932 produced 60 different models, while 16 firms in 1934 produced but 51. This may merely be the results of efforts to put order in chaotic sales conditions, but it is likely



Times Wide World

BROAD HIGHWAY: Germany's new motor roads are viewed with suspicion. However, it has even been suggested that the Germans built them for pleasure and convenience.

that the Germans have learned from the difficulties which U. S. army experts faced in France during the war, when the A. E. F. used 216 different types of motor vehicles and suffered severely from the problem of supplying parts.

Under such touching solicitude, Nazi motor firms have taken on new life. The Opel firm has become the greatest auto manufacturer on the Continent. This firm employed 6,441 workers in 1932—18,000 in 1934. It produced 20,081 vehicles in 1932—102,293 in 1935. Truck production has boomed. Four years ago trucks of more than eight-ton capacity did not exist in Germany. Today, you can see trucks of 15 tons on German roads, provided with six-wheel trailers. Save in the armaments business, no branch of German industry has manifested such lusty health. Nazi leaders proudly point to the fact that in 1935 Germany possessed 2,157,811 motor vehicles. The goal is now "three million by 1938."

The People's Car

The *Volkswagen* or "People's Car" will be the most striking feature of this mass production, according to the Nazi propagandists. This new model will, for the first time, place motor cars within reach of the lower-income groups. In former

years only the upper and upper-middle classes could afford cars. Even the standardized Opel never was distributed as widely among the mass of the people as the Ford in this country, or as the Morris-Cowley in Britain and the Citroen in France. The *Volkswagen* is designed to make the Germans a nation of auto owners. Its price will be less than \$500 and it will have a speed of from 50 to 60 m.p.h. Beyond that, however, and the fact that mass production has not yet started, no official details are obtainable. Not even the latest Junkers bombers have been surrounded with such official secrecy.

But some idea of the *Volkswagen* may be derived from an examination of the small, cheap "sports models" which have been described as its prototypes and which have been sold in considerable quantities. The *Volkswagen*, if it is anything like these "sports models," will be used for more than just Sunday-afternoon driving on the newly paved roadways.

These models are definitely designed for cross-country driving—across fields and ditches. The bodies are constructed as light as possible (usually of ply-wood) with steel-tube folding seats, no doors and a light canvas hood. The chassis is short (so that the rear does not hit the ground going over ditches), with independently sprung

axles having very large wheels (to give plenty of ground clearance). One model has chassis and body made independent of each other by connecting them with large springs. This has proved very durable and efficient especially off roads and in hilly country. Some of these models have been adopted by the German army, their glass windshields replaced by bullet-proof armor-plates and bucket seats installed. One model has engines manufactured by Krupp armor-plated for protection of the engine against bullets and shrapnel.

Attaque Brusquee

Why should the Germans desire a popular car which can successfully traverse ploughed fields, when they are spending billions on paved roads? The key to this puzzle may be found in the NSKK. The NSKK (*National Sozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps*) or National Socialist Motor Corps with 500,000 members organized in full military fashion in 21 brigades is composed of "volunteers," most of them of the middle-classes who can afford to own autos and motorcycles. The close connection between this corps and the German army, particularly the mechanized and armored car divisions, is admitted. Army officers assist in the training and maneuvers of this corps. The maneuvers include such subjects as hand grenade throwing, map-making, field reconnaissance and rifle marksmanship. In addition, the members study automotive engineering and the repair and driving of cars and motorcycles. The patron of the NSKK motor sport school is General Lutz, head of the Armored Force and Inspector of Army motorization.

Such activities may promote sport. They are more likely to provide material assistance for that *attaque brusquée* which has long dominated the German military mind. According to the theories of Von Fritsch, mechanized forces, including tanks, armored cars, and bodies of troops trans-

ported by motor, can deliver a quick, strong thrust sufficient to break even strong fortifications like the Maginot line. Tanks now move at such high rates of speed—15 to 45 miles an hour—that unlike the last war, troops on foot cannot possibly keep up with them. Gallieni rushed troops to the Marne in Paris taxicabs and saved the day. The NSKK tomorrow may throw thousands of well-trained car drivers, their private vehicles filled with troops, down the broad highways and across fields and ditches to back up the mechanized battalions as they batter their way through trenches and redoubts. Lest there be any doubt of the official sponsorship of these tactics (and their preparations) mark this statement from the Berlin *Borsen-Zeitung*, well-known to be the mouthpiece of the Reich Ministry of War: "It is precisely the technical progress in the sphere of motorization, by the invention of transport vehicles almost as efficient as tanks in cross-country work, that makes it possible for the infantry to occupy at full speed ground for which tanks have prepared the way by dint of frontal or flank attacks."

Of course, this may all be merely the exuberance of a militaristic, uniform-loving people and the *Volkswagen*, geared though it may be for ploughed fields, may continue indefinitely to speed along the luxurious motorways in the most peaceful manner. However, the German military command seems to be missing no tricks. The French and British press have recently reported stories of German mobilization orders which place all owners and drivers of motor vehicles in a permanent state of mobilization. Only a telephone call from the Ministry of War is necessary to set them all in motion. These instructions also give to each of these sport-loving individuals an authorization to obtain a quantity of gasoline and lubricating oil—including a surplus supply of 20 liters—free on presentation of the order at any garage.

OUR LIBERIAN PROTECTORATE

The responsibility of the United States toward its "colony" cannot be overlooked

By JOHN C. LE CLAIR

LIBERIA today is the last independent sovereignty in Africa. The part played by the United States in making this possible has been a considerable one as evidenced by the many occasions during the past years when her aid has been asked and given. Liberia has been described as a moral protectorate of the United States, a pseudo-dependency—our black stepchild. Present world conditions would appear likely within the near future to raise the question of how far the United States is willing to go in the defense of the black republic.

The people of Liberia see in the fate of Ethiopia a warning as to their own danger as well as an indication of the inability, if not unwillingness of the League of Nations to protect them if the need should arise. They see confirmation of their worst fears in statements such as that attributed to J. B. M. Herzog, Premier of South Africa, that Liberia should be thrown to Hitler. As stated in Monrovia's *Weekly Mirror*: "It is evident that Liberia is destined to be the next objective of European imperialism and unless Liberians refuse to be a nation of orators and cease from idealizing, and look to machine guns and bullets and gases and explosives as the god of the ark of the covenant and not the covenant of the League of Nations, they are doomed because the republic is unarmed and is incapable of any resistance from without."

Obviously, therefore, with land-hungry nations on the march, the question of the American stake in Liberia and the extent to which, in line with past policy, we would undertake to protect both it and them, become of greater importance day by day.

Liberia owes its inception to the work of the American Colonization Society, which was organized in 1816 to colonize American Negroes on the west coast of Africa. After several attempts in 1820 and 1821, a settlement was finally made on the Mesurado River and named Monrovia, after the fifth President of the United States. Further settlements made by a number of state colonization societies also of American origin were united with the former into one central government in 1837. In 1847 Liberia was organized as a Republic with a constitution modeled after that of the United States. Today it occupies an area of 43,000 square miles with an estimated population of one to one and a half millions of people, all of the African race with the exception of about 300 whites, approximately half of which are American citizens. They are mainly missionaries, traders, and rubber plantation personnel. The Firestone Company has a large rubber concession in this country.

The United States has repeatedly indicated its interest in the welfare of the black republic. Cruisers have been sent to aid the Liberian Government in the suppression of native revolts and to prevent foreign intervention. Our State Department has not hesitated to interfere on occasion to protect the interests of the country with regard to boundary disputes with various European powers.

The history of Liberia during the past century, as that of other backward nations, has been a struggle to maintain economic and political freedom. These difficulties have been aggravated by chronic mismanagement of her finances, by disputes with foreign concessionaires, and by attempts on



OASIS OF INDEPENDENCE: *Despite the lure of its rich rubber resources, Liberia alone in Africa has retained its political independence.*

the part of foreign banking interests to realize on loans made to the Government on terms particularly favorable to themselves.

There is a familiar pattern in the financial history of backward or minority groups. Indebtedness followed by inability to pay constituting the pretext for intervention and the political absorption of the territory; undoubtedly such would have been the fate of Liberia in the imperialistic heyday of the pre-war period. Wedged in between Sierra Leone and the French Ivory Coast, her territory became the battle-ground for the conflicting interests of

Great Britain and France. The year 1908 was marked by increased activity on the part of these colonial powers. Protesting in the tried and true fashion of imperialistic powers against the apparent inability of Liberia to prevent the raids which they claimed were being made across their frontiers by the Kru tribesmen, they demanded the establishment of a Frontier Force under European command. As Great Britain had been foremost in launching these protests, the command was given to a former British officer under whose supervision it became a formidable force. However,

French opposition to this, coupled with a demand for equal official representation, forced the Liberian Government, weak as it was, to dismiss all foreign advisers.

"An American Colony"

Whatever action these powers might have contemplated was forestalled by Liberia, which sent a mission to the United States seeking financial aid and diplomatic assistance. President Taft, with the consent of Great Britain and France, appointed a commission of three members which sailed for Monrovia aboard a gunboat in April 1909. It was during the course of discussions with regard to the status of Liberia that Secretary of State Elihu Root declared that "Liberia is an American colony."

After investigation the Commission recommended that we take over the debt of Liberia, reorganize its administration, and use our good offices to settle the frontier disputes with Great Britain and France. The Commission also suggested the acquisition of a coaling station on the coast.

In 1911 the recommendations of the Commission were formulated into agreements by which Liberia transferred the territory of Kanre-Lakun to Sierra Leone in exchange for a strip of undeveloped territory of about the same area on the south side of the Morro River, which became the boundary between the two territories. France was pacified by the cession of some 2000 square miles of territory in a second frontier agreement.

The financial recommendations were embodied in a five per cent loan for \$1,700,000 in 1912. Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States participated in this loan, although the majority of the capital was British. The security of this loan was the customs, rubber and other taxes. An American receiver-general and financial adviser, along with British, French, and German receivers, were installed and American Army officers began the organization of a police force. To a great extent Liberia's independence had become quasi-independence.

The outbreak of the war in 1914 placed Liberia in great danger of becoming the battleground of the conflicting powers. The U. S. S. Chester was ordered to Liberia, where it proceeded to patrol the coast and lend "moral assistance" to the Government. The War Department also sent 500 Krag Carbines and 50,000 rounds of ammunition at half-price, payable in advance.

Subsequently, Liberia, as a result of American influence, entered the war on the side of the Allies. The poor financial state of the country made a loan necessary and, under the Second Liberty Loan Act of September 24, 1917, a credit for \$5,000,000 was earmarked for Liberia. In November 1918 the United States notified the French and British Governments that under an amendment of the loan agreement of 1912 the United States intended to convert the loan and its administration into an "All-American Receivership," which would control both the internal and external revenues of Liberia. However, with the ending of the war, interest in the payment of this so-called "war loan" declined, and although in 1919 Liberia sent a commission to the United States the loan, although previously authorized, was never made. The subsequent action of Congress in prohibiting the extension of further war loans marked the final chapter in the negotiations.

Firestone Enters the Market

The failure of this and of a subsequent loan agreement also for \$5,000,000 attempted in 1921 left Liberia in financial difficulties for which there appeared little possibility of solution until the Firestone Rubber Company undertook negotiations in 1926. The aim of this organization was to secure a source of raw rubber that would enable it to compete with the British monopoly in the Far East.

The Liberian Rubber Company, which was the beneficiary in 1898 of the first concession granted by Liberians, had set out a rubber plantation at Mount Barclay about ten miles from Monrovia. After becoming part of the Liberian Develop-

ment Company in 1904, operations had been continued until 1918 when, finding it impossible to compete with Eastern sources, the company had given up. The Government, to whom the plantation now reverted, continued operating for another year and then in turn abandoned the project. It was this area which, first taken over by the Firestone interests in 1924 for a 99-year period, sold them on Liberian possibilities. The resultant "Planting Agreement," enacted into law by the Liberian Legislature on November 10, 1926, comprised a lease for 99 years of up to 1,000,000 acres of land of the public domain of Liberia on condition that the Firestone Company pay an annual rental of six cents per acre for each acre taken over and a one per cent export duty on every pound of rubber shipped. This last was to be based on the prevailing price of rubber in the New York market. Other agreements concerned the construction by the Firestone interests of a harbor at Monrovia, which undertaking, subsequently found to be impossible, was abandoned.

Our interest is concerned not with the details of the agreement but with its importance as a factor in the political history of Liberia. As in the case of previous concessions this one was also bound up with a loan. At the time the agreement was made Germany was not the important factor she had been before the war nor is today. However, the other participants of the 1912 loan were politically active and for that reason, so it is claimed, Firestone insisted on making the signing of the planting agreement dependent on Liberia obtaining a loan for \$5,000,000 from American sources for the purpose of refunding previous indebtedness. It was hoped that in this way foreign influence would be eliminated.

There is considerable controversy regarding the circumstances under which the loan was made. The Liberians in view of past experiences appear to have been against the loan, particularly if it was to come from Firestone sources, and to have preferred an American Government loan.

Whether the Firestone loan was forced on the Government at Monrovia or whether the American State Department played a part in advising its acceptance is difficult to say. Certainly it would appear that Firestone had more to gain from allowing the Government to make the loan and do the resultant worrying than do the worrying himself as has been the case during the intervening years.

The loan as signed in 1926 was for 40 years at seven per cent. The ultimate amount was \$5,000,000. Through a Firestone subsidiary, the Finance Corporation of America, bonds for \$2,500,000 were immediately purchased at 90 giving Liberia \$2,027,700 for the purpose of repaying previous indebtedness. Unfortunately, as in the case of previous loans made to Liberia, only about ten per cent was available for productive purposes after this was done. The remaining \$2,500,000 has never been taken up by the Finance Corporation, its issue being conditioned on Liberia's customs and head monies reaching \$800,000 annually for two consecutive years. An important stipulation of the loan agreement makes it not only impossible for Liberia to obtain additional loans or to create any floating debt until this loan has been repaid but also prevents Liberia from undertaking any refunding loan for a period of 20 years.

The substance of the loan agreement is noted here merely for the purpose of indicating the financial stranglehold it gave American interests on Liberia. The subsequent history of the agreement is interesting if not entirely unexpected. The charges on the loan, including interest on the bonds and amortization as well as the salaries of fiscal officers, mounted from year to year. In 1928 they absorbed 20% of the total revenues; in 1929, 26%; in 1930, 32% and in 1931, 54.9%. In December 1932, Liberia suspended payment on interest and amortization on the Firestone debt.

This action on the part of Liberia brought the American State Department into the situation as well as the League of Nations, to whom the former now

appealed for assistance. Charges of slavery in Liberia had been brought before the League in 1930. As a result of a subsequent League investigation by the Christy Commission, President King, who had negotiated the Firestone agreement, had been compelled to resign early in 1931. The United States had failed to recognize his successor, Edward Barclay, pending reforms in the matter of forced labor.

In 1933 the League undertook a Plan of Assistance for Liberia which attempted to lighten the financial load imposed by the Firestone Agreement. However, Liberia countered with a set of amendments which made the plan impossible and the League withdrew. This placed the matter entirely in the lap of the United States which, to a great many people including Harvey Firestone, was precisely where it belonged. As stated by him following a conference with Secretary of State Hull in 1934: "We believe that the American government should accept the leadership in assisting Liberia to rehabilitation through the League plan, as the American people are responsible for the establishment of that country."

On June 11, 1935 the United States resumed formal diplomatic relations with the Liberian Government. This followed by a few days a joint resolution by the Legislature of Liberia ratifying an agreement with the Finance Corporation of America and the National City Bank, its fiscal agent. This supplemented and amended the loan agreement of 1926 and repudiated the joint resolution of December 23, 1932 which had set up the moratorium. In the same agreement which in substance is the same as that of the League, promises are made by Liberia of improvements in sanitation, public instruction, and the like. The Company on its part has reduced the interest from seven to five per cent, with payment on interest and amortization made dependent on the annual revenues of the country. Latest reports indicate that economic conditions

in Liberia have improved. Imports and exports in 1936 increased by 43% and 60% respectively over those of 1935. Interest charges on the total public debt of \$2,311,178 are being met, and progress made in the amortization of outstanding bonds and the liquidation of the floating debt. Improvements have been made on roads and it would appear that temporarily at least the financial situation in Liberia has been settled.

"Doubtful Honor"

However, today the political status of Liberia appears to be fraught with possibilities for international complications which are destined to involve the United States. The honor of being the last independent sovereignty in Africa is a doubtful if not a dangerous one. If Germany, who apparently is next in line to secure territorial compensation of some kind, should decide to annex Liberia, its people, on the basis of past relationships, would be justified in expecting American protection. This, taken in conjunction with the greatness of the Firestone Concession whose owners could expect to receive a little consideration in the event of such a happening, would demand intervention on the part of this country.

Doubtless the present Administration, whose policies, as indicated by its action in withdrawing the marines from Haiti, do not lean to intervention, would be in somewhat of a quandary. Yet unquestionably we would be forced to intervene. A century of tradition, which, although not the product of a definite policy, has allowed for certain conclusions by the rest of the world as to our responsibility for the continued freedom of Liberia, would not allow us to remain unmoved if the independence of the black republic faced extinction at the hands of some European Power. Whether as the controlling factor or merely the guarantor, the United States would appear to hold the future of Liberia in its hands.

THE LEPERS OF MOLOKAI

An atmosphere of every-dayness in their manner is evident to an outside visitor

By HARRY A. FRANCK

FEW false impressions of a geographic nature are more absurd than the still fairly widespread notion that Hawaii—or, for those whose learning includes the knowledge that Hawaii is not a single island, at least Molokai—is a leper colony.

Now, there is a leper colony in Hawaii, or, more specifically, on the island of Molokai. But it occupies an infinitesimal portion, hardly one fortieth of the area even of that small island, and is as thoroughly cut off from the rest of it as if it were behind prison walls—better prison walls than those surrounding many an acknowledged prison. For whereas little Molokai is 34 miles long and seven wide, and rises to a height of 4,970 feet, the Makanaloa Peninsula to which the lepers are confined is a sea-level point of land on the beautiful windward side of the island barely 12 square miles in extent, jutting out into the sea from the base of an almost sheer 1,620-foot cliff that effectively cuts it off from the rest of the island and with surf pounding incessantly all about it. No doubt lepers could climb that appalling cliff, but few of them have the physical strength, to say nothing of the moral energy, to do so.

One does not visit the leper colony except by permission, which is not easily to be had, and our invitation had been predicated on the promise to bring no photographic apparatus with us.

We drove to Kalaupapa, the leper settlement of today, over caricatures of a road. The triangular promontory, attached to the cliff that overhangs it like a bracket to a wall, is covered with stones big and little, black sinister volcanic rocks, as if they had rained down upon it, as no doubt they did. The lighthouse in its fenced square quite

separate from the leper settlement was until recently the last surviving kerosene light-house in the United States; it is now, if I caught our driver's words clearly above the gasps of the bouncing car, the largest single electric lighthouse, or the largest one with its own plant, on our coasts.

The main colony is now at Kalaupapa because it is easier of access by sea. At that it is hardly blessed with a harbor. Supplies come by weekly boat, but the seas are rough and there are times when the shipments cannot be landed. The houses the lepers live in are well built, in the simple fashion suited to the Hawaiian climate, bright and cheery with flowers and Hawaii's almost incessant sunshine. The Chinese girl's room in one of the buildings in charge of Franciscan sisters, which was shown us, as an example, in her absence, was neat and orderly, with family photographs and other decorations, small but everything a lodging needs to be. The sisters, aided by Portuguese lay nurses, maintain this home for women on the cottage system, with a central dining hall and an infirmary for advanced cases or those suffering from other ailments, which are frequent in cases of leprosy.

The majority of the afflicted live in homes of their own, as free from outside interference as you or I—as long as they remain inside those eight thousand acres encompassed by natural barriers which they can surmount only by climbing or swimming. Almost every house has its radio. Many lepers keep cows, some even have horses, and there are more automobiles per capita at Kalaupapa than in the United States as a whole. One patient has the Ford agency for the little peninsula and the superintend-



Pictures

LEPER COLONY: *A section of Molokai as seen from the air. The church in the center foreground is attended mainly by lepers. Catholics, Presbyterians, Mormons, Buddhists—all have their churches.*

ent's latest information on the subject was that its inhabitants had ninety-seven cars in which to ride the four or five miles of "roads" in their restricted little world. People with bandaged hands, some without complete fingers, drive their own cars.

Political Status

They have the right to vote, like any American citizen, or at least any citizen of the Territory of Hawaii. The little peninsula is officially the County of Kalawao, yet not a county at all in the popular sense of the word, being governed entirely by the territorial Board of Health, which appoints and pays the one official, a sheriff. But the political status of lepers is the same as that of any other resident of Hawaii and those with the necessary qualifications can cast their ballots for the territorial Delegate to

Congress and for Senators and Representatives to the island Legislature, as well as for candidates for office in Maui County. The Senator from Molokai goes down to campaign for the leper vote, which the small population of the three islands comprising that county makes important.

There are little more than 400 lepers on the peninsula, as against more than 600 when the present superintendent came ten years ago. More were buried during these ten years than are here now. The graves must be dug along the dunes of the beach, for the rest of the peninsula is almost solid rock. Catholics, Presbyterians, Mormons, Buddhists—all the usual sects have their churches and graveyards. An average of one out of four of the afflicted inhabitants is crippled or bed-ridden. There are seldom more than a dozen *haole* lepers; just now

there were only about half a dozen, mostly Germans. There were many Portuguese, but they do not count as *haoles* in Hawaii. Hawaiians, who seem to catch the disease more easily than others, as they did the common diseases imported by the first white invaders, are proportionately the most numerous. There are a score or so of unafflicted husbands and wives living with their leper spouses and something like that many "clean" employees, from the superintendent and doctors down through the *kokuas* or "helpers" who have no special training for the jobs they are doing.

"Every Fourth Face"

The lepers at Kalaupapa take treatment only if they wish, and very few of them do. Chaulmoogra oil injections are painful and for all the publicity it has been given it is of doubtful efficacy. A cure is so nearly hopeless; why force them to do anything that can trouble the last few years—months, more likely—of their lives? Many wear dark glasses, for the eyes are usually affected and become too weak to endure the Hawaiian sunshine. The disease makes one lazy, they say; besides, the sun rises late here to the west of the great cliffs. There is little swimming because salt water hurts the leprous skin. While visitors, who are rare, can hardly but be welcome in such a community, strangers are enjoyed, if at all, mainly from a distance. Most of the inhabitants turn their ravaged faces aside and stroll away.

While I hesitate to put it as brutally as a famous bygone writer that "every fourth face [is] a blot on the landscape," even those residents of Kalaupapa we saw out of doors included some distressing sights: hands greatly oversized, with fingers missing; ear lobes enormously swollen; faces that made the name the ancient Romans gave to victims of leprosy startlingly apt—"the lion-faced ones." But appearances are deceiving, it seems, even among lepers. The most unsightly form of the disease is likely to be the least painful; often there is far more physical suffering among those who show few outward symptoms. The so-

called neutral type of leprosy, which attacks the trophic nerves, beginning with the tiny ones of the skin, causing the hands to tighten up, the nerves to grow taut, is most painful but least disfiguring—and less certain to prove fatal. For though the disease gradually moves from the small dead skin centers, where all sensation disappears, to the trunk lines and finally to the spinal cord—there it often strangely and mysteriously stops and the patient may even live to a ripe old age.

The territorial government gives its wards at Kalaupapa twenty-one pounds of poi a week, a pound of meat and \$1.50 for other food per day, \$24-worth of clothing and from fifty to sixty dollars in cash or its equivalent a year. Those who are able and willing can work at various jobs and be paid in cash. All money used on the peninsula, by the way, is in coins, which can be disinfected before leaving for Honolulu. The village has its own movie house, where the showing of often quite recent films is free on Mondays, and 25 cents is "tops" on Friday and Saturday evenings. In fact, the inhabitants of Kalaupapa lack only a red-and-green traffic light; and they may soon have that. At least there are automobile accidents even now. Kalaupapa even had its murder while we were in the islands. A woman patient shot a man patient with a .22 revolver during a quarrel over a frying-pan, or something of the sort. When we left, the authorities were struggling with the problem of where to try the culprit, and wondering how she could be more severely punished than she was being already.

There is no set time for inspection, but we found the power plant, the slaughterhouse, refrigeration room, the poi "factory" in as faultless a state as if health were general and death only a normal visitor. But the carpenter shop was full of wooden coffins waiting for their trimmings—and fillings. The community laundry, scrupulously clean and orderly, had up-to-date machinery for every process. Any resident of Kalaupapa—I am speaking, of course, only of the patients—can have his soiled

linen laundered there free of charge and forgot that Monday used to be washday. The *kokua* running the laundry was an American from the mainland who married a then beautiful hula singer at the San Francisco exposition in 1915. She developed leprosy not very long afterward and is now an advanced case; but he sticks by her. A "clean" husband or wife of a leper can leave the colony whenever he wishes, but quite a number have chosen to stay with the afflicted spouse to the end.

The postmaster was a leper; the band master, on the other hand, was not. Letters are given eighteen hours of fumigation before leaving the colony. A Japanese, A.B., University of Hawaii, was manager of the general store, which was startlingly like a well-stocked, well-managed branch of one of our principal chain stores on the mainland. Prices seemed to be a cent or two lower here, where no profit is expected, than at home. Born in the islands, the manager was once a famous baseball player, star second baseman ten years ago on the University of Hawaii team. First he felt one finger growing numb, laid it for a time to a baseball injury. But when pain in the numb hand was accompanied by fever he volunteered for a blood test. The verdict was the shock of his life, but he began treatment at once and was reported cured; or at least the disease seemed to be arrested. So for a year he worked on a plantation. But the symptoms returned and again he "volunteered," this time in the dreaded legion of Kalaupapa, "so his family wouldn't see him." Two years ago only his ears were visibly affected; now all his face was a distressing sight. When he talks of the matter at all he says the worst punishment is the lack of intellectual companionship, for there are not many university graduates at Kalaupapa. Another store-keeper is being trained from among the patients; for the average length of life after leprosy appears is eight years.

Lepers have married, had children, and neither the child nor the "clean" spouse has contracted the disease; for the generative organs are never affected. Even babies born

of two leprous parents not only come into the world "clean" but seem little more likely than other babies to contract leprosy later in life. Leprosy is easily contracted in childhood, but not if babies are taken away from the mother early, even by the end of six months, for heredity plays little part. One "clean" woman married five lepers in turn at Kalaupapa, bore children to some of them, and left at the death of the fifth still "clean." In her case it was a paying proposition, for she inherited some property from all her husbands, in one case quite a lot of property. But even the caretaking personnel on that cliff-walled tongue of land does not recommend that particular career, much as they doubt the danger of contracting leprosy by personal contact.

Catholics are so adamant in their opposition to birth control that they forbid their co-religionists to practice it even in a leper colony. Babies born at Kalaupapa are immediately taken away, "without even allowing the mothers to see them." There is a home for non-leprous children of leprous parents at Honolulu, and in the thirty years that records have been kept no case of leprosy among those children has been reported. There is not a child anywhere at Kalaupapa now, not even of "clean" workers, no school, nothing to remind one that the human being starts in miniature. The youngest patient is 14. This communal childlessness was not the case a decade ago. The present superintendent himself signed the decree banishing all children, even his own, from the colony. The complete absence of childish forms and voices is the outstanding peculiarity of the place.

A green fence surrounds the "clean" area at Kalaupapa and lepers never intrude inside it. Doctors, nurses, the superintendents and their servants live "beyond the green fence." They kick open gates, avoid handling door knobs if possible, never touch anything unnecessarily, never tap a cigarette before lighting it and always put the untouched end in the mouth. During our afternoon stroll the superintendent took a letter from the hands of the former baseball-

playing store manager without visible hesitation, as if he did not wish to hurt his feelings by shying at it; but we noticed that he washed his hands with a disinfectant soap just as soon afterward as the opportunity offered out of sight of the patient. No, the workers are taking no foolish and unnecessary chances, though they say they have very little fear of contracting the disease. Father Damien and one other are the only workers authentically known to have contracted leprosy in all the history of Kalawao and Kalaupapa—though two former doctors are under suspicion.

Service to Mankind

The workers tire of one another, quite naturally, like sailors on a windjammer, and stick to their own quarters much of the time, when off duty, with books and radio. They like to see new faces, but visitors are few and far between. Yet there is an atmosphere of every-dayness in their manner, no sticky cheerfulness smeared on, no heroics about service to mankind, just a job to be done to the best of the individual's ability, a constant effort to seem casual and natural, as if people were living just as ordinary lives here as anywhere else. All of them, something testified, have an interest in their work which I, and probably you, could never attain if we were shut off here on a tongue of land sticking a bit satirically out into the Pacific, no matter how delightful the climate and beautiful the scenery.

It is generally assumed that Chinese coolies brought leprosy to the islands, which would lay something else at the door of the sugar planters. But there is no more certainty about that than about who will and who will not contract leprosy, and how, and why. Still, leprosy was first noted in the islands in 1853—and the first Chinese laborers were imported in 1852. Yet one of the first missionaries writes, in 1823, "cases of ophthalmic scrofula and elephantiasis are very common," and these may quite likely have been symptoms of true leprosy. A doctor in Queen's Hospital in Honolulu called attention in April 1863,

to "a new disease and its rapid growth." By 1864 it had spread alarmingly, yet the segregation of lepers did not begin until 1866, during the reign of Kamehameha V. Then the Government bought Makalao Peninsula, including the fertile valley of Waikolu between its two villages, and sent about 140 patients to Kalawao, stamping, perhaps forever, this isolated peninsula protruding from the center of the long northern coast of Molokai as a world apart.

At first, the exiles were virtually left to shift for themselves and conditions became inhuman. To-day Kalaupapa is reputed the best leper colony in the world. The islands have spent much money on it; now they want some help from Washington. But they do not want Federal interference, or lepers sent there from the mainland.

The only other leper colony in the United States—not counting our "possessions," such as the Philippines—is the U. S. Marine Hospital at Carville, Louisiana, some twenty miles south of Baton Rouge, where at last account there were 352 patients, 21 of them war veterans. In the forty-some years since its establishment there has been no known case of Carville's non-leprous personnel contracting leprosy. People from the islands, who recognize the symptoms at sight, say there are lepers all over the United States. On his last trip to the mainland the owner of Molokai's famous apiary saw a leper tending an Indiana filling station, a leper working on the roads in New Jersey, a leper walking down Fifth Avenue in New York. There are probably several thousand lepers on the mainland, authorities say, of whom only about 350 are shut up in Louisiana. Lepers are not segregated in the majority of States; many of them, including New York State, have no laws concerning it. Nor does the disease increase, for all the inattention to it, in the northern States, though it does in the Gulf States, especially among the whites. In the Hawaiian islands it is steadily decreasing, and some of its victims at Kalaupapa keenly resent being prisoners there when it is agreed that tuberculosis is far more catching and just as fatal as leprosy.

NEWS FROM NEW ZEALAND

*The British Empire's first Labor majority
embarks on a bold course in the antipodes*

By DONALD COWIE

FORTY years ago the British Dominion of New Zealand first earned its reputation as a laboratory for unusual political experiment. Under the leadership of Richard John Seddon a radical government attracted the attention of the world with its arbitration act to fix wages and hours of work by semi-legal awards, its revolutionary land legislation, and its experiments in state trading. In due course, however, the commotion died down, and New Zealand, content with its progress, relapsed into a comfortable but undistinguished existence under governments of a predominantly conservative complexion. Then, in November 1935, the country reverted to type and elected to office the first Labor Government in the British Empire to enjoy a clear parliamentary majority.

New Zealand's troubles started with the economic blizzard of 1929-30. Since it is a farming country, and depends for the bulk of its income on exports of wool, lamb, butter, cheese, apples, and other primary commodities, it was very badly affected by the slump. Prices for its products fell to such an extent that the national income was reduced by nearly a quarter within a year. Urgent steps were taken by the Government of the day, a weak Liberal ministry under Mr. G. W. Forbes, to prevent a financial collapse, but eventually it was necessary for this administration to form a coalition with the Conservative group under Mr. J. G. Coates.

The resulting Government was strong enough to begin the task of economic rehabilitation, even if it was unable for the time being to restore the old flow of trade and reduce unemployment. From

the first, however, the Government's recovery measures, which involved general economic retrenchment on the one hand and hugely increased taxation on the other, failed to arouse popular enthusiasm. When the people of New Zealand found their wages reduced by Governmental command, their essential services cut in two by governmental command, and their taxation increased so largely by the same hard cause, they muttered and growled. The national income declined from £150,000,000 (\$750,000,000) in 1928-29 to £90,000,000 (\$450,000,000) in 1932-33. In 1931 there was an estimated budgetary deficit of more than £8,000,000 (\$40,000,000). Thanks mainly to the recovery in world prices, but partly to the Coalition Government's careful husbandry, the national income had recovered considerably in 1935, and the budget was balanced, but it was perfectly logical that when Messrs. Forbes and Coates went to the country for a renewal of their mandate in November of that year, they were ignominiously refused.

It was the biggest political landslide in the history of New Zealand, and resulted in the return to office of the strongest Labor Government a British country had had. Prior to the 1935 election Labor had occupied 24 of the 80 seats in the House of Representatives; afterwards they occupied 53. The Coalition's strength was reduced by half at the election, and three of its Ministers were unseated. Despite the unpopularity of the old administration, their crushing defeat came as a surprise to everybody. This was because the Conservatives had hitherto been able to rely upon the votes of the influential farming community. But even the highly individu-

alistic "cockies" turned on their own men in 1935. The general sentiment was that as the Coalition had had their chance, it was now up to the country to give Labor a chance. As a result the new Labor Government was composed mainly of men who had had neither ministerial nor, in some cases, parliamentary experience, but who were usefully relieved from the necessity of working according to precedent.

They did not sit down on it. As soon as the election results were announced the leader of the victorious party, Mr. M. J. Savage, an Australian who had roughed it in many theatres of life, and whose practical idealism was allied to an Irish faculty for making the most of his political opportunities, told the country exactly what he and his colleagues were going to do. First, the unemployed were going to have a happy Christmas. The new Government would make an immediate bonus payment of £100,000 (\$500,000) for this purpose. Then salary cuts would be restored at the earliest possible moment. Pension cuts would also be restored, and unemployment would be assuaged by a big new program of public works. The New Zealand currency would be brought back to parity with sterling (Messrs. Forbes and Coates had devalued the currency by 25 per cent to help the farmers), and primary producers would be guaranteed fixed export prices at a profitable level. The Arbitration Court's powers would be enhanced; a 40-hour week and a basic wage would be introduced; broadcasting would be handed over to the people; the Reserve Bank would be nationalized; local manufacturers would be assisted, while relations with the Mother Country would be improved; the workers would be led on to the millennium, but "no wild schemes would be entered upon in doing so." The people could depend on that.

Labor's First Session

Apart from the above-mentioned manifesto and the gift to the unemployed Labor started off quietly. During the 1935 Christmas recess and the weeks leading up

to the first parliamentary session of last year, the leaders of the Government were busily engaged in preparing their new legislation. But once the first session was opened the country resounded to the cries of the jubilant and the sorry. During that short session of 11 weeks, comprising only 43 actual sitting days, the Government, hastening procedure by frequent application of the closure, hurried through Parliament no fewer than 15 public acts, together with four local acts empowering municipal bodies to enter upon specified works, and a number of private acts.

The first act passed was the Reserve Bank Amendment Act, and it may be described as the keystone of the legislative arch subsequently erected by the new Government. Before the election Labor stated that they would not allow the bankers to stand in the way of their program should their party be returned to office. So the first act of the new Government was to bring down a bill giving them absolute control of the central Reserve Bank "in the interests of the promotion and maintenance of the economic and social welfare of New Zealand." All share capital was cancelled, and private shareholders were paid off. The powers of the Bank were widened, or restricted, to allow the Government unlimited borrowing facilities; and practically every safeguard devised by the orthodox founders of the Bank to protect it from unorthodox outside interference was modified or removed. In other words, by the Reserve Bank Amendment Act the Government obtained complete control of the currency and credit of the country.

The second measure brought down was the Primary Products Marketing Act. It must be explained that the mainspring of New Zealand's economy is the dependence of the country for the greater part of its income on exports of primary products to overseas markets. When prices in those markets are good New Zealand prospers; when they are bad the country, and particularly the farmers, automatically feel the pinch. The farmers helped to return

Labor to power just because they were told that Labor was going to remove this national economic disability; and the Primary Products Marketing Act, following conveniently after the Reserve Bank Amendment Act, was Labor's fulfilment of its promise. The act embodied a scheme whereby the Government contracted to buy all the farmers' produce at one guaranteed price, and then sell it in the London market at the best figure that could be obtained, making up any deficiencies out of Reserve Bank credit. At first the scheme applied to dairy produce only, which comprises a large proportion of New Zealand's exports, and it involved the appointment of a Minister for Marketing. A State Advances Corporation Act, passed subsequently, provided for the remodeling of the New Zealand Mortgage Corporation as an entirely state institution to take over all the Government's lending activities so that more liberal advances could be made to settlers and home builders.

Important industrial legislation followed. Foremost was the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Amendment Act, framed to restore to the arbitration system for dealing with wages and hours and labor disputes the powers that had been taken from it by reactionary Mr. Forbes and Mr. Coates. This system, introduced by Mr. Seddon's government 40 years ago, was the wonder of the world at the time, and its principles underlie Mr. Roosevelt's codes scheme and the arbitration law recently introduced by M. Blum in France. But Messrs. Forbes and Coates felt that, by rigidly defining wages and conditions, the system was hampering recovery, and they proceeded to emasculate it by removing the clause of the original act that made arbitration compulsory. So the new Labor act of last year restored full powers to the Arbitration Court; and subsequent measures, the Labor Department Amendment Act, the Factories Amendment Act, the Labor Department Amendment Act, and the Shops and Offices Amendment Act, provided for a compulsory 40-hour week for all workers, a basic wage, compulsory pref-



Pictures

PRIME MINISTER: M. J. Savage, victorious in the last elections, had a "practical idealism which was allied to an Irish faculty for making the most of his political opportunities."

erence to unionists, elimination of Saturday work where possible, and a compulsory right for union officials to have access to employers' premises. State measures to combat unemployment were reorganized, and a big new program of public works started.

The Government Railways Amendment Act and the Transport Licensing Amendment Act can be considered together. New Zealand's railways had been a state institution for many years, but once again Messrs. Forbes and Coates felt that they could improve the system if it were removed from complete governmental control, and they set up a non-political board of business men to take over railways management. Last year's Labor measure abolished this board and restored state control, while the Transport Act simultaneously restricted road transport companies from competing with rail transport.

Of the other measures brought down in this momentous first session the Broadcasting Act was possibly the most im-

portant. It was certainly the most significant. Hitherto the radio had been a state monopoly controlled by a non-political Broadcasting Board after the manner of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Labor decreed, however, that this board should also be abolished, and that, in its place, there should be set up a state Department of Broadcasting, under the direct control of the Prime Minister as a Minister of Broadcasting. At the same time certain small stations were licensed to begin commercial broadcasting, and, triumphantly, microphones were installed in the House of Representatives so that listeners might have the salutary experience of hearing Parliament on the air.

But to many people the biggest surprise of the session was the first Labor budget. Thanks both to an improvement in world prices for New Zealand's produce and to the orthodox husbandry of the previous government, Mr. Savage was able to announce a nominal surplus of £13,000 (\$65,000) but provision was made for an increase of nearly £2,000,000 (\$10,000,-000) in income in the following year by a judicious re-grading of the land and income taxes. This brought the national taxation per head of population to nearly £20, making New Zealand one of the heaviest taxed countries in the world. The new revenue would be spent on increases and new establishments of old age, ex-service men's, deserted wives', and invalids' pensions, and on the enlarged program of public works.

The Second Lap

Labour's second session in New Zealand, or the second half of its first year, was comparatively dull as compared with the first half. Because internal prices were rising as a result of the higher wages and costs promoted by the earlier legislation, a Prevention of Profiteering Act was brought down. In this provision was made for the setting up of a tribunal consisting of a magistrate alone to investigate cases of unreasonable increases in the prices of commodities. The act covered services as

well as goods, and high penalties were fixed for profiteering. Basic prices would be determined.

The Government's proposals for the promotion, regulation, and licensing of industry were then revealed in an Industrial Efficiency Act. This established a Bureau of Industry, to operate in an advisory capacity in the promotion of efficiency, to formulate plans for application to individual industries, and to provide for the use of funds from the State Advances Corporation and the Labor Department in the promotion of industry. Soon after this, the report of a committee set up to investigate the spread of chain-store trading was received; the governmental view expressed in this was that chain stores should be subject to state control, and that the replacement of private by cooperative enterprise was desirable.

Other measures brought down in the last few weeks of New Zealand's first year of Labor were the Mortgagors and Lessees Rehabilitation Act, to permit the adjustment of all mortgages and leases executed beforehand in such a way that mortgages would be based on present value of securities, while the rental charged in leases would be reduced to a fair rental value; and the Education Amendment Act, the main provision of which was to raise the state school leaving age to 15 years. During these weeks an order was issued by the Arbitration Court fixing basic wages at three pounds sixteen shillings (roughly \$18) a week for adult male workers, and one pound sixteen shillings (roughly eight dollars) a week for adult female workers.

Reviewing his year's work in November last, Mr. Savage declared his satisfaction, and emphasized that the guiding principle of the Government was social justice. "I give you my word we will remain true to our principles and keep faith with the people," he declared, and went on to announce that the proposals for 1937 would include national superannuation and national health insurance schemes, and a complete overhaul of the education system.

CURRENT HISTORY IN THE WORLD OF THE ARTS

The

CULTURAL BAROMETER

By V. F. Calverton

THE Spanish Civil War, with its mad, wanton waste of men and materials, its disfiguration and demolition of so much which ancienthood had put the stamp of wonder upon, is the greatest calamity of the post-War generation. Starting off as a civil war, it has already turned into an international war, and there is all too great a danger that it eventually may be known as the beginning of the Second World War, with Spain this time paying the price which Belgium did in the First World War. With at least 60,000 Italian troops and more than 30,000 Germans fighting on the side of the Rebels, with German and Italian fleets active in all Spanish waters, and with Junker planes, tanks, and artillery busy on every Rebel front, Spain has become a battlefield where foreigners are warring in an attempt to destroy a government and a people—and a culture—against which they have not even declared war. Edifices mellowed with historicity have been shattered by their machine-gun fire and razed to the earth and in calculably precious relics and treasures have perished in the fire and smoke of destruction.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Spanish writers, musicians, and artists have risen with such challenging enthusiasm to the defense of their native land. They are determined not only to defeat the Rebels, but, more than that, to defeat the foreigners who have threatened to rob Spain of its independence and to convert it into another Ethiopia.

At the beginning of the civil war many of the Spanish writers, artists, and musicians strove to keep out of it, to maintain an "above the battle" attitude, but as soon as foreign intervention occurred, it was no longer possible for them to remain outside the fray. Very soon, one by one at first, and then in increasing numbers, the literary and artistic geniuses of Spain began to ally themselves with the

Loyalist cause. They saw from day to day how the Loyalists did everything in their power to protect Spanish art treasures from the danger of destruction; how, when it was feared Madrid was about to be taken, art collections were moved in the dark of the night, in muffled caravans of horses, cars, and trucks, to Valencia where they would be safe from the salvos of machine guns and the bombs of Junker and Caproni planes. They also saw how Russian aeronauts and French pilots, like the distinguished French author, André Malraux, who had enlisted in the Loyalist cause, went out of their way to protect Spanish art treasures and structures.

All this galvanized the support of the Spanish artists more than ever.

"Side of the People"

It was with the words "I am on the side of the people," that the Spanish musician, Pablo Casals, recognized as the world's greatest cellist, declared his allegiance to the Loyalist cause in the Spanish Civil War. Because of his international reputation, Casals' observations on the Spanish situation are most significant from a cultural point of view. Eager to make it known that his concern in the Spanish civil war was cultural and not political, he asserted, in words which were as graphic as they were gripping:

I repeat that I am nothing more than an artist. But I cannot bear in silence the accusations of vile deeds that are made against the Catalan people, the people who have no responsibility for the civil war and who are making such heroic sacrifices. Formerly, there were differences between us Catalans and the Spaniards. Now, Catalonia and Spain march side by side, and I feel everyday more Catalan and more Spanish.

More than that, Casals, who has been paid literally fabulous sums in New York and on



Black Star

PABLO CASALS

the Continent for his playing, placed at the disposal of the People's Government (Loyalist) a large portion of his bank account. In doing so, he stated:

I was one of the rich in Barcelona. Today I am not wealthy but I do not mind. I am a manual worker. Yes, manual, and as such am closely tied to the democratic movement. As is already known, the Catalan Government has asked me to use my art in the cause of propaganda. Before the civil war, and without invitation from anyone, I made much material and moral propaganda by means of my art, for my country.

When he was queried as to why he did not remain neutral in the civil war, he avowed:

I am on the side of the Spanish people who love and appreciate me. I cannot approve of the Catalan intellectuals who, in the moment of danger, abandoned their country and fled abroad. I know that I could live better elsewhere than Barcelona and enjoy more material comfort. But I declare that as soon as I have finished my foreign tour I will return. I will remain faithful to the Catalan people in their hour of darkness as I have lived with them in their hours of happiness.

When he was asked whether he would give recitals in Germany, he declared with ringing fervor:

I shall not go to Germany. I made this decision on the day when the Nazis deprived the great conductor, Bruno Walter, of his position. I said then and I repeat now: I shall not set foot in Germany while liberty of thought and art are prohibited. Why am I a democrat? I am a democrat because only in a democracy can the son of a poor peasant rise as I have risen. It is because of this that I shall avoid the roads that lead to Germany.

Don Miguel Unamuno Speaks

A few months ago the cultural world was startled and shocked by the news that Unamuno, one of Spain's greatest philosophers, whose *Tragic Sense of Life* was one of the most thought-provoking and universally discussed books of the twentieth century, had declared himself in favor of the Spanish Rebels. Later information, however, has revealed the fact that Unamuno never made such a declaration. Shortly before Unamuno's death, Dr. J. Brouwer, a Dutch student of Spanish affairs, interviewed the philosopher and stated that Unamuno feared that culture in Spain would be completely destroyed as a result of the civil war, just as it had been in Italy and Germany under the Fascist regimes.

Unamuno's exact words are strikingly revealing:

There is no culture which could be born, grow, and prosper in a purely militaristic regime. With the triumph of the military mind nothing can prosper. The military mind is empty of all culture.

Upon another occasion, Unamuno averred that the "Rebels may win but they will never convince." In other words, contrary to the information disseminated by the propagandists of Franco, Unamuno remained faithful to the cause of the Spanish Government.

As a final confirmation of Unamuno's Loyalist stand, *The New Times and Ethiopian News* (London) states that "because of his political sympathies with the Loyalists, Unamuno was deprived of his rectorial position; the Rebels were not represented at his funeral; and his sons, although less than twenty years old, together with the sons of ex-President Zamora, have joined the Loyalist troops."

Spanish Sympathizers Speak

Following upon these declarations of Spanish intellectuals, literati in other countries,

eager to preserve Spanish culture from the depredations of foreign adversaries, have lent their pens to the defense of the Spanish Loyalist cause. Ernest Hemingway, one of America's most brilliant authors, left for Spain several weeks ago, determined to devote his energies to the defense of Spanish democracy. Hemingway's main concern is not political but cultural. He has friends among the Carlists (Rebels) as well as among the Loyalists. He wants to help save Spain from being either Italianized or Germanized—or both. John Dos Passos, an equally celebrated American writer, plans to follow Hemingway, it is reported, in the near future. Carleton Beals, whose recent novel was concerned with the preservation of the roots of Mexican culture, has dedicated his pen to arousing American writers to support the cause of the Spanish Loyalists in their attempt to save Spanish culture from being vandalized and victimized by foreign oppression. Stephen Spender, one of the most exciting of contemporary English poets, has been stirred to the roots by the Spanish crisis, and has been writing vigorously in the cause of the Government's struggle against Fascism.

Romain Rolland, one of France's leading writers, has addressed an appeal, which, with tornado-like violence, challenges all French writers to assist the Loyalist cause by dedicating their labors to the preservation of Spanish culture. Heinrich Mann, the brother of Thomas Mann, and a well-known novelist in his own right, has penned a similar challenge to German writers, in which he declares:

Hitler's crimes reached the climax when he sent German soldiers to Spain.... With the Spanish adventure he hopes to prolong his power. Hitler orders German soldiers to make sacrifices to prevent his fall.... Against whom is Hitler fighting in Spain? Against the Spanish people, against the democrats and republicans, against Spanish peasants and workers who want to live with human dignity, against free citizens who shook off the yoke of vampires.

In Mexico, writers, musicians, and painters, including Diego Rivera, one of the greatest painters in the world today, have joined in this same struggle for the preservation of Spanish culture.

Never, in many decades, have intellectuals become so concerned with the problem of cultural preservation and the right of a people to maintain their cultural integrity and independence.

America's Literary Development

Turning now to the American scene, we can see in recent developments in the literary field how markedly the economic depression affected the outlooks and interests of our writers. American literature has always been a literature without a stable, unified tradition. Unlike European literatures, each of which has its own tradition, continuous through the centuries, American literature has never developed enough independence of vision, never achieved enough unity of outlook, to establish a tradition of its own. Imitative of English literature for centuries, it was impossible in those days for American literature to root itself in our cultural soil, or cultivate a tradition native to our environment. We absorbed the traditions of others instead of creating one of our own. As a result, discontinuity instead of continuity has dominated our literary history.

Although American literature has come of age in the twentieth century and begun to develop an individuality and independence which it lacked in the past, it has not yet attained enough stability to create an enduring pattern of its own. Our literary generations are still brief, episodic things, mercurial as the styles in women's clothes. Before what is called the *new American literature* (an adjective which has been applied with such prodigal frequency in recent decades) can be appreciated by the public it has become old, and a new *new American literature* has taken its place. What one generation reveres, the next generation scorns. A half a decade has almost always been enough in this country to make the most prized and precious literary ideas look anachronistic.

Within the last twenty years, three different literary generations have arisen. In the teens, we had the new American literature which found its main body of expression in the insurgent poetry of the day, the *free verse* movement, from which burgeoned forth such poets as Edwin Arlington Robinson, Robert Frost, Carl Sandburg, Amy Lowell, Edgar Lee Masters, John Gould Fletcher, and Hilda Doolittle. Within less than a decade all those writers had either forsaken their insurgency and adopted conventional verse as their literary pattern, or given up poetry altogether and turned to prose as their medium. In a word, within less than a decade they had become spiritually old.

The Twenties gave birth to another *new*



CLIFFORD ODETS

school of American literature, a school which fed itself upon gin and jazz, and believed that being hard-boiled was the first test of literary virtue. Henry L. Mencken was its critical prophet, and F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ben Hecht, Sinclair Lewis, and Ernest Hemingway were its creative voices. By the time the Thirties rolled around, with the depression jitters which ensued, that school was dead and had been superseded by another and a still newer school. Mr. Mencken by that time had become almost as much a part of the past as geologic rock; Ben Hecht had deserted literature for the cinema, F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway, the two most gifted of the group, had started writing popular stuff for the less literary magazines, and Sinclair Lewis had begun to write less effective novels about less absurd people.

The still newer American literature born in the Thirties, which today is described as the newest American literature, has become known familiarly as proletarian. This new school views with scorn the schools which preceded it. Led by John Dos Passos, this newest school numbers among its followers, many of whom have been recent converts to its credo, such creative and critical writers as Waldo Frank, Elmer Rice, John Howard Lawson, Michael Gold, Charles Yale Harrison, Clifford Odets, Robert Cantwell, Fielding Burke, James Farrell, Albert Halper, Grace Lumpkin, Jack Con-

roy, Edwin Seaver, Edward Newhouse, Albert Maltz, George Sklar, Paul Peters, Ernest Sutherland Bates, Max Eastman, Edmund Wilson, Granville Hicks, and Malcolm Cowley. It is interesting to observe that most of these writers—with but a few exceptions—are young people, many of whom are still in their twenties.

Proletarian Parade

The proletarian school must be distinguished from the two previous schools in that its credo is optimistic instead of pessimistic. From the post Civil War days of Edward Eggleston down to the end of the Nineteen Twenties with Ernest Hemingway and Eugene O'Neill, American literature was increasingly gloom-ridden, morbid, and cynical. In but few places was a ray of hope to be discovered for *homo Americanus* or *homo sapiens*. The optimism of Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and the early Mark Twain faded into a frayed recollection. This new proletarian school is the first school in generations to renew the optimistic note.

In the majority of the novels, poems, and dramas of the proletarian school, the strike has become the center of conflict. In both *The Shadow Before* and *The Land of Plenty*, the strike is the pivot about which the novel revolves. In Fielding Burke's two novels, *Call Home the Heart* and *A Stone Came Rolling*, both of which are superior to her two previous novels, the strike is again the central motivation. Of course, there have been novels about strikes before in American literature, but in most of such novels, with the exception of those of Jack London and Upton Sinclair, the strike has been incidental rather than fundamental to the theme. In the novels of this new proletarian school, however, the strike becomes a prophetic symbol. It is not the individual strike, in the eyes of these writers, which is so significant, but the concept of the strike as a prelude to a new order of society, a means of achieving a classless civilization in which strikes are superfluous.

In both of Fielding Burke's novels, we are brought face to face with strike situations which communicate that conviction. The heroine in both novels is an intelligent, sensitive woman, who is outraged at the treatment of the Southern workers by their employers, and who takes up the cudgels in defense of the workers and becomes their leader in the strikes they wage. Unlike many proletarian novel-

ists, Miss Burke does not depict the employers as villains with paunches, whose sole aim in life is to ground down the workers; instead she portrays them as human beings, no different from the workers, save that their economic interests conflict, as a result of which they are driven to extremities of action which they themselves regret but which they are powerless to avert. Both employers and workers are victims of the capitalist system, and only by getting rid of the system, Miss Burke makes implicit in both novels, can men live in harmony with each other.

Another aspect of this new literary movement, which is really a corollary of the previous aspect, is the different attitude taken toward workers and farmers. Instead of envisaging workers and farmers as inferior to lawyers, doctors, authors, and statesmen, the proletarian writers exalt them as higher than all other people, and see in them the seeds of a new and superior civilization. In such novels as Grace Lumpkin's *To Make My Bread* and *The Hand of Cain*, in Albert Halper's *The Foundry*, Jack Conroy's *Disinherited*, and Michael Gold's *Jews Without Money*, which is more of an autobiography than a novel, that attitude is challengingly conspicuous. The worker is viewed in all of them as the fugeman of a new social order. That was never the case in nineteenth century novels dealing with the proletariat; all one has to do is to turn to such novels as *Alton Locks* or *Emma Barton* to see how different the attitude was in those days. In such novels the worker was never idealized; he was treated with sympathy and kindness, but at the same time with condescension.

Even more striking than the proletarian novels have been the proletarian dramas which have been produced within the last five years. The most inspiring dramatist produced by the proletarian movement, who bids fair, according to New York critics, to become the successor to Eugene O'Neill as the leading American playwright, is Clifford Odets. In his two one-act plays: *Waiting for Lefty* and *Till The Day I Die*, and in his two three-act plays: *Awake and Sing* and *Paradise Lost*, he has established himself not only as the leading proletarian playwright but as one of the few original dramatists in this country today. Odets' dramas frequently do not deal with the proletariat but with the middle class, but their aim and purpose is a proletarian one in that they attempt to show how the middle class is



JOHN DOS PASSOS

being bankrupted and liquidated by the present economic system. Both *Awake and Sing* and *Paradise Lost* are dedicated to that purpose. Both are plays concerned with the decline and decay of middle-class life, with the promise of a new world—a socialist world—held out in the end as the only salvation.

Other proletarian dramatists of note who have written arresting plays are: Albert Maltz, whose best play is *Black Pit*; George Sklar, whose most striking drama is *Stevedore*, written in collaboration with Paul Peters; John Howard Lawson whose most recent play is *Marching Song*; John Wexley, who is best known for *They Shall Not Die*, a play built about the Scottsboro case; and Michael Blankfort, whose play *Battle Hymn*, written in collaboration with Michael Gold, is the best historical drama produced by the American proletarian movement to date.

While many of these proletarian novels and dramas are interesting and challenging, they are still far from finished or significant from a literary point of view. Clifford Odets and John Dos Passos are the only proletarian writers in the field of the drama and the

novel to create first-rate stuff. What most of the proletarian writers in this country suffer from is *proletarianitis*, a disease which evinces itself in the attempts of so many of these authors to write novels and dramas about the American proletariat in terms of what they have learned from Marx and Moscow, instead of in terms of what the American workers actually are today. The result is that instead of being literary realists they become proletarian Pollyannas.

Unless this present proletarian group learns to write about the American proletariat as it really is, which means ceasing to write about the United States as if it were Soviet Russia, the proletarian literary movement will be superseded by other literary movements which once more will declare themselves "the new American literature."

Southern Agrarian Group

The only other school of literature in this country today which is an open competitor of the proletarian school is the southern Agrarian school led by John Crowe Ransom, Donald Davidson, Allen Tate, Herbert Agar, John Chard Smith, and others. This school finds its literary center in *The American Review*, a magazine edited by Seward Collins, who has declared himself an uncompromising Fascist. Mr. Collins, once a literary Humanist, and quondam editor of *The Bookman*, is the only one of the group who has adopted the Fascist label. The rest of the group are reluctant to identify themselves with any specific political movement, although they believe in a very definite political orientation.

What the group stands for, as evinced in the two symposia published by it, and by Allen Tate's *Reactionary Essays*, and the numerous essays and books of Herbert Agar and John Crowe Ransom, is indisputably clear. It wants an America, or at least a South, freed of the yoke of industrialism, with big business superseded by small business in the realm of economic activity. In other words, it wants, as several of its leaders have made abundantly manifest, to turn back the clock of our economic life to pre-Civil War times. It believes that the only healthy way of life for man is the agrarian. It is opposed to collectivism, on the one hand, and to industrial capitalism, on the other.

This group, which proudly boasts of the fact that it is *reactionary*, has grown in influ-

ence rapidly since the publication of its first symposium, *I'll Take My Stand*, which appeared over half a decade ago. It does not have as many publications as the proletarian group nor as many writers. Almost all its writers are critics, essayists, or poets; it is lamentably lacking in fiction writers of note. Its writers also are mainly confined to the South, where the type of agrarianism proposed still has a reminiscent pertinence to the contemporary scene. The fact, however, that a New York editor, Seward Collins, identifies himself with their cause shows that the movement has expansionist possibilities beyond the agrarian confines of the South. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether such a reactionary agrarian philosophy will ever be able to make much headway in urban centres.

In the meanwhile both groups, the proletarian and the agrarian, are putting out their pseudopodia in an attempt to suck more and more writers into their maws. Month by month, more and more of the middle-of-the-road writers are being attracted in either the proletarian or agrarian direction. What both movements have done is to polarize the attitudes and interests of the literary tribe. Donald Davidson, one of the leaders of the agrarian group, declared that time had come when writers could no longer feel sufficient in themselves; they must "take a stand," he insisted, along with other writers, on the crucial issues which face American civilization today.

An additional proof of the truth of Mr. Davidson's remark is to be discovered in the fact that the Social Credit movement, founded upon the monetary doctrines of Major C. H. Douglas, with no interest in literature *per se*, has, nevertheless, won the support and affiliation of a number of writers who, like the proletarians and agrarians, are eager to "take their stand." Gorham Munson, one of America's most interesting and intelligent literary critics, is the leader of the group and the editor of its one magazine, *New Democracy*, which just recently has ceased publication. Along with Munson, the Douglas movement can boast among its members of two of America's most exciting and original poets, Ezra Pound, who has lived abroad most of his life, and William Carlos Williams.

The Nineteen Thirties, then, have not only brought us "a new American literature," but also a new type of creative writer—a politicized writer whose interests are more economic than aesthetic.

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The Realm of Science

MORE fossils—more “missing links,” to use a highly popular but equally unscientific term—is the great need of anthropology in its efforts to unravel the mystery of the origin of the human race.

This was pointed out a decade ago by Dr. Gerrit S. Miller Jr., curator of the Division of Mammals of the United States National Museum at Washington. Dr. Miller's point of view was reiterated by Dr. Earnest Hooton, the well-known anthropologist of Harvard University, speaking at the recent Symposium on Early Man, held by the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences.

More than 300 scientists, mostly from America and Europe, but including a few from China, South Africa, and Australia, gathered in Philadelphia from March 17 to 20, for the symposium which marked the celebration of the 125th anniversary of the founding of the Academy.

When Dr. Miller stated his view of the situation, anthropologists were in possession of the remains of the *Pithecanthropus erectus* or Java man, the Piltdown man, the Heidelberg man, and numerous skeletons of Neanderthal man and Cro-Magnon man from the caves of Europe.

Outstanding discoveries of the last decade include the Pekin man and a number of Neanderthal skeletons from Palestine and from Java. These discoveries are of the utmost importance. There is now reason to believe that Pekin man or *Sinanthropus pekinensis*, is older than the Java man and so should perhaps more properly be called the Pekin Ape-Man. The Neanderthal finds in Palestine and Java attest the wide spread of the race and throw new light upon its characteristics.

Most biologists think that man first appeared upon the earth about a million years ago during the Miocene or early Pliocene period. It is easier to agree upon the geological period than upon the age because there is still considerable argument among geologists as to the proper time scale for the geological eras.

Pekin man was first unearthed in 1929 when

a complete skull was found in a sandstone pit about 30 miles from Peiping, China. Additional skeletons were subsequently found. Rev. Dr. Teilhard de Chardin brought replicas of the latest skulls from this region to the Philadelphia meeting. These skulls, unearthed last year, were considered as the oldest known fossils of the human race by most of the experts gathered in Philadelphia. Their age was placed at 1,000,000 years.

Pithecanthropus erectus, or the Java man, was given an age of about 500,000 years in the opinion of the assembled experts. It is significant that disagreements have raged over Java man ever since its discovery at Trinil, Java, in 1891 by Dr. Eugene Dubois in a cliff-like declivity in the bank of the Bengawan River. The find consisted of a skull, some teeth, and a thigh-bone. Dr. Dubois regarded the remains as having belonged to one individual. Other authorities differed and in 1896 Dubois himself summarized the controversy, showing that there were seven authorities who regarded the skull as human, five who regarded it as simian or ape-like, and seven who regarded it as a transitional stage between man and the ape.

Today, there are some 15 points of difference between authorities upon the Java man. The argument still goes on as to whether the bones represent the remains of one or two creatures and as to whether Java man was man-like, ape-like, or a transition between the two, that is, “a missing link.”

Some students, Dr. Hooton told his assembled colleagues, are inclined to view the Java man as “a paleontological monster fortuitously assembled from spare parts of men, apes, and microcephalic idiots.”

Almost as much argument rages over Piltdown man, which comes next in the time scale with an age of about 300,000 years. Sometimes called *Eoanthropus* or the “Dawn Man,” this find consists of a skull, jaw, and nasal bones, unearthed in a gravel pit by Charles Dawson at Piltdown, Sussex, England, in 1911 and 1912. Workmen who had been excavating

in the pit previously had evidently smashed the skull and perhaps destroyed much of it.

In 1911, nine fragments of the skull were found which fitted together into four pieces. The lower jawbone with two teeth in it were also found. The next year the nasal bones, another tooth, and a few more fragments of skull were found.

More than 75 experts have taken part in the battle over the exact nature of these finds since 1912. Dr. Miller says that there are 20 points upon which they differ.

Heidelberg man is known only from a jawbone with some teeth in it found near Heidelberg, Germany, about twenty years ago. Most authorities feel that this is not sufficient evidence upon which to say much about Heidelberg man.

Many attempts have been made to reconstruct the appearance of ancient man. Scientists are inclined to regard those of Prof. J. H. McGregor of Columbia University as the best. His reconstruction of Java man shows a primitive sort of man, half man and half ape, with low sloping forehead, thick prominent ridges over the eyes, flattened nose with wide nostrils, and weak, sloping chin. His reconstruction of Piltdown man shows a more definitely man-like head with slightly higher forehead, a less flattened nose, and a stronger chin.

The story of man's rise on earth is interlocked with the last great glacial age, the Pleistocene period. Pekin man and Java man lived before the Pleistocene, but our other relics of early man belong to it.

Geologists are inclined to divide the Pleistocene into four glacial epochs and three interglacial epochs when the weather grew warmer and the ice retreated. Recent Time, as the geologists call it, began about 25,000 years ago with the retreat of the last or fourth glaciation.

The Neanderthal Riddle

The rock layers of the interglacial epochs yield a number of chipped flints and other shaped stones which some archeologists insist were shaped by human hands for use as axes, scrapers, and the like. They have named them "eoliths," or "dawn stones." Arguments still rage over these stones.

The third interglacial epoch yields thousands of stone utensils of undoubtedly human manufacture from southern England, Spain, France, and Germany.

Skeletal remains are common in the fourth

glacial epoch and because the first one was found in the Neanderthal Valley of Germany, the name of Neanderthal man has been given to them. Neanderthal man was about five feet three inches tall. He had a low forehead, bony ridges over the eyes, a broad nose and a weak chin. He was the first of the cave men, as nearly as science can tell, living in the caves during the cold days of the fourth glacial epoch.

But at the end of the fourth glacial epoch—the start of Recent Time—Neanderthal man disappears from Europe and his place is taken by Cro-Magnon man, the first representative of *Homo sapiens* or True Man. He was tall and straight, averaging six feet in height with tall forehead and well-molded features.

An old theory was that Cro-Magnon man invaded Europe from Asia and killed off Neanderthal man. A newer theory, advanced by Dr. Ales Hrdlicka of the U. S. National Museum, is that the rigors of the last glacial period intensified the struggle for existence and that as a result Cro-Magnon man was evolved in Europe from older types such as the Neanderthal man.

The Philadelphia symposium emphasized new elements in the Neanderthal puzzle. First, it made it clear that the Neanderthal problem is no longer a strictly European one. Skeletal remains found on Mount Carmel in Palestine six years ago by the joint expedition of the American School of Prehistoric Research and the British School of Archeology in Jerusalem, are now recognized either as Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon men or the ancestors of these types as found in Europe.

But whereas Cro-Magnon man succeeds Neanderthal man in Europe, the two are found together in Palestine, associated with yet a third type. The one type, as described by Dr. Theodore D. McCown at the Philadelphia symposium, had the small stature and typical skull of the Neanderthal man as found in Europe. The second was a slightly taller individual. The third was a well-formed six-footer, evidently a close relative of the Cro-Magnon man of Europe.

Eleven casts of skulls of Neanderthal men, women, and children, were brought to the Philadelphia meeting from Java by Dr. G. H. R. von Koenigswald. The original skulls were found in Central Java on the banks of the River Solo. Dr. von Koenigswald is positive that they belonged to the Neanderthal

race. It appears, therefore, that Neanderthal man was widespread and not confined to Europe as had been previously believed for many years.

Early Man in America

Dr. Hrdlicka some years ago advanced the theory that man made his way into America by way of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska from Asia. His researches on both sides of Bering Strait have made him certain that both the Indian and the Eskimo crossed over by way of the Bering Strait, the Bering Sea and Bristol Bay.

In this region, America and Asia are separated by less than 50 miles of water and the journey is split into sections by the Diomede Islands. He found that until a few centuries ago, the journey was frequently made from Asia to America by this route. In Siberia, he found natives who resembled famous Indians of the "Wild West" era sufficiently to pass for their doubles. Man, according to Dr. Hrdlicka, has been in the new world not over 15,000 years.

The battle for a longer tenure of the new world is based upon the finding of the so-called Folsom points, flint arrow heads and spear heads which have been unearthed in various parts of the west. Some authorities insist that these have been found in geological deposits which must be more than 15,000 years old.

Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota brought to the Philadelphia conference a skull which had been dug up in Minnesota a few years ago during road-building operations. He estimates its age at 20,000 years.

A number of speakers suggested that Alaska and Asia were once connected to each other by a land bridge.

Treasures of Armageddon

While anthropologists seek to discover the origin of the human race, archeologists are busy unearthing his early history. Foremost among archeological organizations is the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago which maintains many expeditions at work in the "fertile crescent," the region which extends from the Nile in Egypt, across Palestine, to Assyria, Babylonia, and the Persian Gulf.

One of these expeditions, known as the

Megiddo expedition is busy at the site of Megiddo or Armageddon. Megiddo is the older Hebrew word for Armageddon.

Megiddo is situated at the pass through the ridge of mountains across Palestine. Armies moving from Africa to Asia or vice versa had to use this pass. Hence Megiddo became the key fortress guarding the highway between Asia and Africa.

Excavations have revealed a series of cities or fortresses at Megiddo beginning with a cave-man settlement. Each succeeding city was built upon the debris of its predecessor.

The discovery of a magnificent hoard of Egyptian gold has just been announced by the leader of the expedition, Gordon Loud. It was found in a palace which he has uncovered and which he dates at about 1400 B.C. This palace, he thinks, was the residential palace of the prince of Megiddo at that period.

The treasures, however, are several centuries older and may have been handed down from generation to generation, he thinks. They include Egyptian cosmetic jars, jewelry, and a beautiful bowl in the shape of a seashell.

Knew Her Onions

Grandmother, it now appears, knew her onions. You will recall that she used to advise that you eat onions to cure that cold. Recent discoveries from the University of Southern California, indicate that the chemical properties of onions which bring tears to your eyes, may also be useful in battling disease. The same thing applies to garlic.

The experiments were carried out by Dr. Richard E. Vollrath, professor of physics, and Dr. Carl C. Lindgren, chairman of the bacteriological department. They were led to try them by the fact that onions do not spoil easily, indicating the presence of some substance resistant to bacterial attack.

They found that the germicidal agent in onions is allyl aldehyde while that in garlic is crotonic aldehyde. The effect of these agents is now being tried out on guinea pigs. It is hoped that the substances may have some value in fighting tuberculosis, pneumonia, diphtheria, and leprosy. It had been known for some time that the vapors of the onion affect the bacilli of tuberculosis and leprosy.

DAVID DIETZ

Highlights of the Law

PRIOR to 1765 Englishmen looked upon the law of their country as an inscrutable mystery, a black and frequently malevolent art. And indeed it had become necromantic in method and content. Except for men of wide public experience, it was entirely comprehensible only to old sergeants of the law, who acquired a knowledge of it by steeping themselves in its lore, by searching out its interminable reaches in scarce and rare law books, records, rolls, and manuscripts written in "law Latin" or corruptions of Norman-French jargon unintelligible to the common man, and by practicing at the bar for a lifetime.

At that time, the law was a disordered agglomeration of traditions, statutes, local customs, feudal vestiges, judicial interpretations, miscellaneous principles derived from the civil, canon, and other non-indigenous systems, and gradually emerging precepts of an unwritten Constitution. In that year Sir William Blackstone began publishing, in four books, his Oxford course of lectures under the title *Commentaries on the laws of England*. Its acceptance was immediate, for it served admirably to accomplish its purpose, which was to place at the disposal of "gentlemen of fortune, the nobility, and persons in the liberal professions" a concise, comprehensive, articulated, and systematic exposition of the weltering congeries of precedent and medieval logic, so little understood but so stoutly championed by patriotic lords and gentry, called The Common Law.

The American Colonists were then at the very climax of their struggle with the pressing problem of their true relationship to the motherland. Waxing rich, powerful, and independent, and convinced of their own common interests and destiny, they were no longer content to be pawns of a Colonial Office. In these distant settlements nothing was now more urgent than a knowledge of the roots of the law in the homeland from which a divergence of life and customs had been growing for generation after generation. Except for a

few fortunate Colonial youths who were educated in England, wholehearted communion with the spirit of the English law was almost impossible in America for lack of a handy guide to its maze of scutage, socage, vicinage, estovers (or botes), gavilkind, corodies, rent-seck, frankalmoign, and other specialties seldom encountered on the edge of the forest primeval. Thus it occurred that hundreds of volumes of Blackstone were sold in America and the first copies of an American edition were just off the press when the resounding shot was fired over the rude Concord bridge. Under these circumstances it is not strange that Blackstone should have had so weighty an influence upon our formative years, especially when it is remembered that the *Commentaries* treat also with didactical clarity the subjects of public law and government, including King, Magistrates, Parliament and the revenue. We can hear our Revolutionary melodies in the classic themes of the old master:

And, because several of the colonies had claimed a sole exclusive right of imposing taxes upon themselves, the statute 6 Geo. III. c. 12 expressly declares, that all his majesty's colonies and plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate to and dependent upon the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain; who have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever.

We the people, in adapting these themes, introduced, it is true, a few variations of our own, but it was, in large measure, Blackstone that taught the Yankee tongue to tang arguments of state.

The beauty that makes the *Commentaries* still the joy of casual students of the law is the simplicity and economy of presentation of so vast a panorama. In this quality they are not surpassed by the *Commentaries* of the swordsman Caesar, who trained his pen to conquer immortality by dividing Gaul into three readily cognizable parts. Blackstone divides the common law into four books, viz: The Rights

of Persons; The Rights of Things; Private Wrongs; Public Wrongs.

"Human Rights"

The first book, on The Rights of Persons, is of lively interest. A large part of it is still quite up to date, particularly that part which deals with what some writers today are terming "human rights," for Blackstone divides persons into "natural persons" and "bodies politic, or corporations." The relative importance ascribed by Blackstone to these two classes of persons is indicated by the seventeen chapters devoted to the first as against one chapter deemed sufficient to cover the second. The rights of *natural* persons, according to this book, are (1) Absolute, viz. the enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty, and private property (an institutional trinity which we have turned first into "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and later into "life, liberty or property") and (2) Relative, which are either public, as magistrates in relation to people, or private, as master in relation to servant. In recent generations new forms of relative rights never dreamed of by Blackstone have arisen and are still developing from the civil collisions between magistrates and "bodies politic," or between people and "corporations."

Whether one is disposed or not to give it credence, the fact is that the rights of natural persons still occupy the lion's share of the cage we call our world. Avoiding as beyond the scope of these few paragraphs, problems relating to mass movements of natural persons, such as sit-down strikes, trailer towns, radio amateur hours, bank nights, and sand lot baseball, let us glance at a few oddities in connection with the individual identification and civil status of natural persons. (It is said that in Elizabethan England a "natural" was a person suffering from a mild form of idiocy, but our language, no less than our law, can show a clear pair of heels to any butterfly cocoon in the matter of creative metamorphosis.)

In some foreign countries individuals are all required to register with the police and to carry about with them at all times the registration card. Such "regimentation" has always been considered by free born Americans as an intolerable indignity. A man is not a motor car. Besides, observe the nuisance, and sometimes the downright embarrassment, which occurs when the familiar voice of authority says "Let's see your license."

Social Security

Yet, since last December 1, nearly twenty-six million American workmen have registered and received serial numbers and identification cards from the Federal Social Security Board. Whatever the individual registrant's former convictions may have been respecting the indignity of being known primarily as a walking serial number, he is now obliged to submit as gracefully as possible, for it will dog him from place to place, from job to job, from pillar to post, from T-beam to pile driver, until, like an old welder's glove, it will at last bring him comfort and security.

"A worker in the course of his active life," says the Board, "may be employed in many States, and obtain his livelihood from a variety of pursuits, but his social security account number will be the same wherever he goes. He may even change his name, or simplify the spelling of it, but he cannot change his account number except with the permission of the Social Security Board, and the change must be noted on his master name record." Not since the scholar complained that the book reviews had buried his masterly dissertation in a footnote, has American individuality had its ruggedness so deeply submerged.

Four million world war veterans grew accustomed to the anonymity of the serial number, to which was added the certainty of finger-printing. Since the War an amazing extension of the use of finger-printing has resulted in the development of the world's largest reservoir of fingerprints in Washington, in the galleries of the Federal Bureau of Identification in the Department of Justice. The criminal section has now over six and a half million prints, and they are pouring in at the rate of 4200 a day. This does not mean that our criminal population is growing at such a startling rate, but merely that 10,000 police authority contributors are ever more assiduous in taking prints of suspects, minor malefactors, repeaters and others in a constantly widening circle. In addition, cards are exchanged with the police of 69 foreign countries.

The enthusiasm for the system is doubtless due to the circumstance that the Bureau has never found any two fingerprints alike, and that today on an average 56 per cent of the fingerprints of criminals sent in for identification are identified. This all goes to make the way of the transgressor no bed of roses, and it is not surprising that brilliant legal talent has been sometimes misled into searching in the

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Constitution and the common law for authority to discountenance this invasion of the citizen's liberty and mayhap his very life, not to mention the private property he may have acquired in ways shocking to current standards of morality.

The criminal file is of course the largest and by reason of its mild suggestion of morbidity, creates most interest, but side by side with it is the voluntary civil file, containing 187,000 prints and growing at the rate of 800 a day. This constitutes a form of insurance for the individual (any man, woman or child can have prints filed on application to the local police) and sensational cases of identification of unrecognizable remains of catastrophe victims have occurred, as in the Morro Castle fire and the hurricane in the Florida Keys; and scores of amnesia sufferers have been located through the civil files. Separate files are maintained by the Civil Service Commission, the Army, the Navy, and other agencies of the Government.

Are Magistrates People?

Blackstone says that natural persons are either magistrates or people. The distinction may be intriguing if all civil servants are classified as magistrates, for at the current term the Supreme Court has decided that employees of municipalities are not subject to the Federal income tax. The ingenuous layman is sometimes confused when he remembers that the constitutional amendment says simply that the "Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration," and that the court first exempted Federal Judges and now exempts employees of local governments, all because someone whose words are more quoted than Hamlet said "the power to tax is the power to destroy."

But even if one is not a magistrate, it is still important to worry about his status as one of the people, whom our much cited Blackstone separates into aliens, denizens and natives. To him "natives" did not connote batik frocks, hibiscus blossoms, and palm fronds in the tinkling moonlight. Natives were, instead, sturdy British yeomen and gentlemen, natural

born subjects of the King, inheritors of the tight little isle. Denizens were inhabitants naturalized by the patent of king or parliament.

Since the Edict of Caracalla, which made Roman citizens of all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire in its day of widest territorial expansion, no phenomenon has been so striking as the increase of American citizenship through naturalization in the last century. Many millions of individuals have emulated Saint Paul in claiming citizenship in the country which offers most to its citizens. The disabilities of naturalized citizens are few (one can become a Senator or a Justice of the Supreme Court, but not President) but those which do exist are enough to cause many a stirring fight to preserve "natural born" rights. Not long ago the grandson of a great American statesman, born abroad of an alien father, wanted to undergo the experience of a "hitch" in the C.C.C. When he was rejected as an alien he took his case to court, and the decision in his favor has become a classic, along with that pronounced last December in the case of a wealthy sportsman, similarly situated, whose political ambitions were clouded with questions about his title to citizenship.

When the tiny island community of Guam sent a commission to Washington last month to petition for recognition as American citizens, it proved how highly this privilege is to be prized. And it was eloquently set forth by Dr. Ernest Gruening, who, testifying before a subcommittee of the House on the pending Jones-Costigan sugar control bill, said:

Our protest is embodied in the fact, as I say, the bill perpetuates a new geography. It creates two kinds of territory for America. It creates a continental and an offshore America. We cannot recognize such a division. We think there is no warrant or justification for it whatever. We think it is just as unwarranted to make this division as to make a similar division on any physical or historical feature such as the Mississippi River, for instance, and to say that Americans living west of that river are entitled to some kind of consideration and Americans east of it to another kind, or the continental divide, or the Mason and Dixon Line. We only know one kind of America, and that includes the land where the flag flies, and where American citizens reside.

GUERRA EVERETT

On the Religious Horizon

CHURCH and State" relations on many fronts have occupied the center of recent interest. Germany has seen frenzied activities in three separate stages: Nazi-Semite, Nazi-Protestant, and Nazi-Catholic. India's panorama has as an important factor the part which the priestly class will play in the proposed new form of government. The Child-Labor Amendment discussions in New York State brought into play Church forces, both pro and con. The Church and State issue in Mexico was brought to the fore by the Papal Encyclical of March 28. Religious considerations were involved in the gesture of Premier Mussolini in Libya, declaring himself to be "Defender of the (Moslem) Faith." Anglican pulpit denunciations of the recent Ethiopian executions brought about tension between Britain and Italy.

In 1933 a Concordat was entered into between Nazi Germany and The Holy See of Peter. This pact recognized the right of Catholics, in ecclesiastical affairs, to unhampered organization, to contacts with the Papacy at Rome, to schools and to other activities; it banned Church participation in politics. Much that was considered guaranteed has gradually been lost in practice. Publishing enterprises, youth organizations, labor and social groups, and most vital of all, schools have been steadily disintegrating under government pressure.

Assailing an "idolatrous cult" which sought to supplant the "true faith," Pope Pius issued an encyclical which was read at Palm Sunday services in Berlin, after being flown secretly to the Reich. The Pope charged that parochial schools had been unfairly persecuted and parental authority invaded. Expressing a desire for "true peace" on the part of the Church, he said that "if peace is not to be, the Church of God will defend its rights and liberties."

In interpreting the encyclical and the cause for its issuance at the particular moment of Holy Week, 1937, it is to be noted that universal Christian, rather than strictly Catholic terms are employed. In taking up the defense of "the natural right of man" the Papacy

aligns itself with all those who are opposed to the totalitarian state. Thus Roman Catholics, Protestants, and to a large degree, Jews, are united in Germany in a movement for religious freedom. It would seem that the Papacy chose this opportune moment for its move, because the time was ripe for this united action—united in the sense that it is simultaneous, and directed toward the same end.

Challenged by the totalitarian state's demands for social, economic, intellectual, moral, and spiritual supremacy, Catholics are feeling an increasing sympathy for stubbornly liberty-loving Protestants, such as Pastor Martin Niemoeller. A multitude of references in Catholic pastoral letters (issued since the arrest nearly three years ago of 600 pastors at the Dahlem Synod) and in the encyclical itself, repeat almost word for word passages from Protestant declarations. A system of liaison officers has been evolved between the Catholic hierarchy and the Protestant synods for the exchange of information. Reich Church Minister Hanns Kerrl, two days before Chancellor Hitler decreed the Protestant Church elections, expressed the problem which is facing both Catholics and Protestants. Indicating that his remarks applied to both Churches, Mr. Kerrl declared:

"Both President Zoellner [Protestant] and Bishop Count Galen of Muenster [Catholic] tried to tell me that Christianity means the faith to teach that Christ is the son of God. That made me laugh. . . . National Socialism consists of doing the will of God. The will of God is revealed in German blood. This will of God is the nation. It is the business of the Church to support the State so that this will of God may be fulfilled. True, Christianity is represented by the National Socialist party and the German people are summoned to true Christianity by the party and more especially by the Fuehrer."

In dealing with such an attitude Catholicism and Protestantism have been forced to unite their efforts. There can be no doubt that Protestant leaders welcomed the Papal ency-

clical. For German Protestantism is on the verge of being exterminated, or at least greatly curtailed. Already suffering from the same "curse" of "nominalism," it is about to be deprived of those who are only "nominal" Christians. This would undoubtedly serve only to strengthen the Church in Germany, for then it would know upon whom it could depend.

Bishop Sturm declared: "The purpose of the coming election can only be to create a clear division between the members of the Protestant Church and the members of the new religious organization, independent financially and legally. The issue is to vote either for a Church based on the preaching of the Gospel or for a new religious association founded on different principles."

Nazi anti-Semitism made a bid for the support of the radical National Socialist movement in the Protestant Church in a special number of Julius Streicher's *Stuermer*, intended to demonstrate that the essence of Christianity is anti-Semitism. Intended to mobilize anti-Semitic sentiment for the coming elections, the article declared: "Christ not only was no Jew, He was an anti-Semite. . . . That Jesus Christ created movement against Jewish tyrants and exploiters is particularly apparent in St. John's Gospel. . . . He did not want to combat the Romans; he wanted to see them awakened and led against the Jews, their criminal faith in a Messiah and their plans for a world revolution."

All of which leads this observer to reaffirm the analysis made in November *Current History*, page 31: "The conflict is not between Germany and the Jews, but between the forces of organized religion and the neo-paganism of a godless super-state."

Lest we underestimate the importance of this "neo-paganism," which is expressing itself at the moment under the name of "German Christianity," it might be of help to hear a word from Professor Karl Barth, German theologian who was dismissed from his office as Professor of Evangelical Theology at the University of Bonn because of his opposition to the Nazi regime. Speaking before the World's Evangelical Alliance in London, on March 22, Professor Barth said in part:

"I wish the great struggle of the Church in Germany was understood more in the Churches of the world. It is not merely a question of freedom in the Church but the fight of the Church against a new religion—not a philosophy or idea merely written about in books and period-

icals, but a religion represented by the State and by persons like Hitler and his friends. It is a new religion which is also a new power in the world. Never since Mohammed has Christianity been so threatened as it is in Germany."

The elections will be held some time before the first of June, according to latest dispatches from Nazi officials. Meanwhile, numbers of Confessional pastors and their congregations are withdrawing from the Confessional Synods. It may be that the Hitler Elite Guard leaders are waiting until a definite breach has been made in the ranks of the Confessional Synod over passive resistance, before calling the elections. They are understood to hold that the Church, divorced from the State, will soon "sink in lethargy and that eventually the foreign Christian religion will die of itself and be replaced by a new heroic ideology." What Hitler himself wants no one knows outside his most intimate circle.

Mexico and the Church

Press censorship, which was imposed in Mexico during the closing days of February has permitted little religious news to leak out of the country. On March 14, President Lázaro Cárdenas in his first statement on the Church-State question in over a year declared that Mexican Catholics have "complete liberty to go to Church;" that "the government is not hostile to the Church." He added that Church and State relations are better than for a long time because the "priests have recognized the uselessness of mixing in politics."

The Church State situation in Mexico is more comprehensible when one remembers that the separate states (sovereign within themselves) have laws of their own regulating the Churches. Only in extreme cases, such as the recent disturbances in the State of Veracruz over the Orizaba killings, does the President intervene. The opening of Churches in Mexico, D. F., and in other parts of the country were in accordance with the openly expressed attitude of President Cárdenas, who has said that the Mexican Church question must be relegated to the background, and that the only sure method of doing this is to permit the opening of the Churches. At the same time the President is reported to be opposed to relaxing the restrictions taken to prevent the Church from exercising influence in Mexican political life.

Undoubtedly the Vatican had this presidential attitude in mind when it issued the Easter

Encyclical on the "Practice of Christian Life." Remarkably free from strong condemnation of the Mexican Government, the encyclical dwells particularly on the necessity of creating a body of clergy and lay workers whose lives and actions will be a daily example of all the Christian virtues. The Pope declared that reconstruction work must be based on the solid development of each individual so that he may set himself to share in the heavy labor of leading the Mexican people back to Catholicism. As the most effective means of restoring the Christian life in Mexico, the Pope points to two things: the sanctity of the clergy, and the collaboration of the laity in the apostolic work of the hierarchy.

The encyclical has hardly hurt the cause of the Church in Governmental eyes, and most assuredly has strengthened and encouraged the Mexican Catholics. They are advised to do everything possible to restore an integral Christian education and formation. Violent changes would cause harm instead of good. If all strive together to live according to the dictates of their Christian faith, even at the cost of sacrifice on the part of individuals, the public welfare will also be promoted.

Fascist "Atrocities"

The Archbishop of Canterbury recently described as "atrocities" the Fascist reprisals in Addis Ababa for the attempted assassination of Viceroy Graziani. The Rev. Edward Gordon Selwyn, Dean of Winchester, compared Mussolini to "the Assyrian Emperor Antiochus, surnamed 'the Brilliant' and nicknamed 'the Madman.'" Recriminations in the press of both countries ensued, followed by diplomatic "representations."

Almost simultaneously, Premier Mussolini, during his visit to the Italian colony of Libya, proclaimed himself as "defender of the Moslem faith," and was presented with the "sword of Islam." British and other newspapers throughout the world seem to have made a mountain out of this molehill. Sheikh Mustapha el Maraghi, rector of Al Azhar (Moslem theological university in Cairo, Egypt) and recognized ecclesiastical head of the Moslems throughout the world, said:

"Only a Moslem who believes in the religion of Mohammed and lives up to the laws of the Koran can be the defender or protector of Islam. No other person, no matter of what race or religion or nationality can be our defender."

Moslems are required by their religion to oppose any rule over them by "infidels." A Moslem Church dignitary recently said: "God may forgive a Moslem for not praying, but God never forgives a Moslem if he does not rescue his brethren from infidel domination."

Libya has a Mohammedan population of about 600,000. It is hardly to be supposed that the almost 300,000,000 Moslems in the world would be affected by this comparatively small number in Libya, even assuming that all of them (in Libya) proclaimed Mussolini as "defender of the faith." Hatred of "infidel domination" is too integral a part of Islamic faith and practice.

In the midst of this Church-State turmoil, the last week of March and the first days of April saw approximately one third of the world's population observing religious festivals (and fasts). Easter and Passover coincided this year. This observance of the renewal of life, of the assurance of God's love and protection, as well as the commemoration of two great events of the past, is closely connected with the old pagan worship of the return of Spring. Nature, with her recurring seasons and the annual "resurrection" of the sun provided the "moment in Time" when God chose to reveal this "care for His creatures."

As one reads of the "Ceremony of the Sacred Fire" (observed every year on the eve of Easter, in Jerusalem and in many other parts of the world by devout Catholics) one is reminded of ancient Greek and Roman customs, when the Vestal Virgins in Rome, following the example of the keepers of the Temple of Hestia in Greece, kindled "new fire" at the return of Spring.

Dark since Good Friday in sign of mourning, the vast old Church of the Holy Sepulchre just after sunrise on Holy Saturday was suddenly flooded with the glow of hundreds of lamps and candles lighted from "new fire" struck with flint and steel. As each new light appeared, the worshipers responded: "Thanks be to God." Hundreds of the faithful, having obtained a lighted taper, rushed home to relight the family fires and candles. Thus are the homes bound in a peculiar way to the Church.

How similar to the old custom of having "sacred fire" from the Temple of Vesta sent out to each new colony of the Roman Empire, so that a visible tie existed, binding the colony to the "source of its light."

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

THEY SAY

SOMETIMES IMPORTANT ★ OFTEN AMUSING ★ ALWAYS AUTHENTIC

HEMINGWAY IN SPAIN

MADRID—It was bright and clear in the red hills north of Guadalajara as we stood on the rocky edge of a plateau, where a white road slanted down into a steep valley, and watched the Fascist troops on a tableland that rose sheer across the narrow valley.

"There comes one up that trail," said a Spanish officer beside me. "They have a machine-gun nest there. Look, there are three more. Look over there, five more."

I sat down with a pair of field glasses and counted more than 150 soldiers moving about on the plateau and trails along its clifflike face.

"They have no artillery there," the officer assured me, "and it is too far across to use machine guns on us."

The Fascist soldiers, wearing regular Spanish

Army uniforms with flapping blanket capes, plodded unhurriedly about the business of fortifying their position along the steep bluff. Below us in the valley were the brown huddled houses of the towns of Utande and Mudeux. To the left lay Hita, like a cubist picture against the steep cone-shaped hill.

The white road below us led around and behind the opposite plateau. After the Brihuega battle an advance along it beyond Utande would have forced a Fascist withdrawal to at least Jadraque. But the retreating Fascists destroyed this road, so the government forces decided to stand on their present excellent positions rather than advance farther along the main Aragon road and extend their dangerous left flank.

It was the first warm Spring day and the troops lay about with their shirts off, sun-bathing and seam-picking. With a brigade commander who had fought at Brihuega, your correspondent went as far as a kilometer along the main Aragon road.

While the left plateau is held by Spanish Rebel troops, the line across the main Aragon road is reported held by Italians of a division that was held in reserve and not used in the Brihuega battle. Except for counter-battery fire, with the Loyalists using captured Italian guns and shells, the front was absolutely quiet, with every prospect of remaining so until the Italian troops have had time to be reorganized.

This correspondent doubts that even then will they attempt another attack in the Brihuega sector, as the strength of the government positions is now fully appreciated and the possibilities of defense were brought out in battle, while signs of the Italians' bloodiest defeat in the first battle in this war fought on a World War scale of organization still cover a ten-kilometer-wide battlefield.

It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of this battle, where native Spanish battalions, composed mainly of boys untrained last November, not only fought stubbornly in defense with other and better trained troops, but attacked in a complicatedly planned and perfectly organized military operation only comparable to the finest in the Great War.



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NOW HE KNOWS HOW THE BULL FEELS

This correspondent has been studying the battle for four days, going over the ground with the commanders who directed it and the officers who fought in it, checking the positions and following the tank trails, and he states flatly that Brihuega will take its place in military history with the other decisive battles of the world.

There is nothing so terrible and sinister as the track of a tank in action. The track of a tropical hurricane leaves a capricious swath of complete destruction, but the two parallel grooves the tank leaves in the red mud lead to scenes of planned death worse than any hurricane leaves.

The scrub oak woods northwest of the palace of Ibarra, close to an angle in the Brihuega and Utande road, are still full of Italian dead that burial squads have not yet reached. Tank tracks lead to where they died, not as cowards but defending skillfully constructed machine-gun and automatic-rifle positions, where the tanks found them and where they still lie.

The untried fields and oak forest are rocky, and the Italians were forced to build rocky parapets rather than attempt to dig the soil where a spade would not cut, and the horrible effect of shells—from the guns of the sixty tanks that fought with the infantry in the Brihuega battle—bursting in and against these rock piles made a nightmare of corpses. The small Italian tanks, armed only with machine guns, were as helpless against the medium-sized government tanks, armed with cannon and machine guns, as Coast Guard cutters would be against armored cruisers.

Reports that Brihuega was simply an air victory, with columns stampeded and panicked without fighting, are corrected when the battlefield is studied. It was a bitterly fought seven-day battle, much of the time rain and snow making auto transport impossible.

In the final assault, under which the Italians broke and ran, the day was just practical for flying, and 120 planes, sixty tanks and about 10,000 government infantrymen routed three Italian divisions of 5,000 men each. It was the coordination of those planes, tanks and infantry that brings this war into a new phase. You may not like it and wish to believe it is propaganda, but I have seen the battlefield, the booty, the prisoners and the dead.

—Ernest Hemingway—*New York Times*.



Glasgow Record

Love me, love my dog. Germany and Italy, it is said, insist on repudiation of the Franco-Soviet pact as a prelude to negotiation on a new Western European pact.

during the past week General Queipo de Llano, the famous broadcaster, repeatedly declared, "We shall be in Madrid on the 15th." It would seem that the rebels greatly underrated the defensive strength of the Loyalist positions, which include an elaborate trench system constructed with the help of Russian engineers.

It would also seem that the now notorious incompetence of General Franco is being reinforced by lack of enthusiasm on the part of his foreign auxiliaries. Many of the Italian "volunteers" believed that they were being sent to Africa, and there has been some murmuring even amongst their officers.

Amongst the Germans on the rebel side, too, there seems to be no great eagerness to fight. The German military authorities are finding it difficult to get genuine volunteers. In January and February commanding officers of Reichswehr units stationed at Weimar, Chemnitz, and Plauen tried to increase the flow of "volunteers" by threats and promises. Propagandist lectures ("Aufklärungsvorträge") preceded the "voluntary parades" of men willing to go to Spain, and when only a few paraded some of the officers showed their annoyance, declaring that the men who would not respond were "cowards" and unworthy of "the German soldier's honourable uniform."

At Plauen successive appeals for volunteers failed altogether, and the men had to do punishment drill as a special inducement. But even this failed. In talking to civilians, several men declared that they were not going to "bite the grass" ("ins Gras beißen") at Madrid of their own free will, but far preferred to be called "cowards."

The truth—and perhaps even more than the truth—about Spain is beginning to spread in Germany, despite the efforts of the German press and

FRANCO'S FOREIGNERS

Several Japanese officers are now taking part in the Spanish civil war on the side of the rebels. In the recent fighting around Madrid several officers of high rank (including two generals) commanding non-Spanish units were captured by the Loyalists. This would seem to show that the Loyalist counter-offensive took the rebels by surprise. In any case, the rebels were confident of victory, for

wireless to conceal it. At a certain small town in the Vogtland, the parents of a Reichswehrman were officially informed that their son had been killed during manœuvres. The sealed coffin with the body arrived many days afterwards. It was assumed throughout the whole district—perhaps wrongly—that he had fallen in Spain.

When parents hear (as they often have done since the beginning of the Spanish civil war) that their son has "died in hospital" and are unable to elicit the name of the hospital or see the body, or if they hear he has been "accidentally killed" and they cannot discover where, the conviction spreads—and it is, no doubt, a right conviction more often than not—that another German "volunteer" has fallen in the Spanish civil war.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the number of "volunteers" has dropped.

—*Manchester Guardian*.

HITLER'S OPINION OF IL DUCE

We are under no illusions whatever regarding Mussolini. We are not so foolish as ever to forget the double treachery of Italy during the world war, nor the part played in it by Mussolini himself. We know for instance that the British Foreign Office, War Office and Admiralty, all were thrown into foolish panic during the Abyssinian war by the supposed Italian air menace to the British fleet. Frightened by an aerial circus.

They scuttled, showed the white feather. But now they understand that they were wrong.

And that is the key to the situation. For we all know, and Mussolini knows, that not in ten years nor fifteen nor twenty, will the English forget or



Cardiff News, South Wales
TOUGH GATES TO CRASH!

forgive their humiliation at the hands of the Italians. There comes the British rearmament programme: the British coronation invitation to Abyssinia: and this latest bombing in Addis.

Mussolini feels cold chills in his stomach when he sees these things. That is why even before the bombing in Addis he was willing to knuckle down to us on the Hapsburg issue. That is why we do not have to trust the good faith of Mussolini in order to be sure of his support for the time being. These are the realities of the situation.

The Week—London.

ITALY INVADES SPAIN

For the past three weeks it has been persistently reported that the British, in the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement, gave a free hand to the Italians to go ahead in Spain. The Quai d'Orsay four weeks ago was privately but quite definitely stating this to be the case. We supposed at the time that this was a mere deduction from the facts of what happened later.

When 15,000 Italians marched into Malaga that did not to the British appear to infringe the spirit of the "gentlemen's agreement." And it did not in fact infringe the spirit in which that agreement was made.

Since then however the situation has become a great deal more dubious. Until a very few days ago, the Foreign Office stuck gallantly to the assertion that 60,000 was the total of Italian troops. gingerly they then raised the total to 100,000. (The real figure is just over 200,000. We know this to be so from absolutely certain sources. We are also aware that the Spanish Government, basing its theories on the statements of officers who do not know of the presence of more than 120,000, is also skeptical of the 200,000 figure.)

An Italian Army is invading Spain on such a scale that although it is very unlikely that it will be successful in defeating the continually growing and developing Government Army, it is equally unlikely that it will be possible quickly to dislodge it from the Peninsula.

In pursuance of the main line of Italian policy the Italians are now approaching the moment when they will seek to extend the area of dispute—and hence it is hoped of Italian control—to Tangier.

The Week, London.

NEW MIGRATION

Since the end of the war, 1,500,000 Russians have fled from Soviet Russia, 1,500,000 Greeks from Anatolia and the Turkish provinces, 350,000 Armenians from Asia Minor, 120,000 Bulgarians from Greece, 25,000 Assyrians from Iraq, 115,000 Germans from Germany and 8,000 more from the Saar. These figures add up to about four million. Unquestionably that is less than the actual num-

ber, for some groups of refugees are omitted altogether: for instance, the Hungarians who fled before the red terror and the Hungarians who fled before the white terror, the Italians who fled before Mussolini, the Spaniards who fled before Primo de Rivera and the Spaniards who fled before the Republic. Furthermore, statistics about the new migration are bound to be incomplete. The countries of origin understate the number of their refugees, out of regard for the sensibilities of a humanitarian world; and the countries that receive them do not bother to keep exact statistics as to their number and economic status.

—*Foreign Affairs.*

MODERN BLACKMAIL

Fortunately, during the last six months, nations which might have been selected as the prey are joining together to meet the mortal peril of German militarism. It would be foolish to maintain that the defenses of those nations are not seriously defective. But they are being strengthened. Germany might perhaps conquer—she could certainly inflict fearful injuries on—any one nation. But she has no hope of conquering a combination of nations in which England, France and other Powers play a part.

There is good reason to believe that this unpalatable truth has sunk into the minds of the German generals. They have realized the folly, not to say danger, of their Government's blustering foreign policy. The Army is now, as it ever has been, the real trustee of the German nation. The generals will not permit a war in which Germany is almost certain to lose. Can they restrain the Nazi leaders from a smash-and-grab raid on some neighboring foreign State? They can and will if it is clear that such a raid will be resisted by an overwhelming combination of countries. The German generals have hitherto taken no action in restraint of their Government's explosive foreign policy because they have been repeatedly reassured that it would yield great profit to the Third Reich. They have been told that, though German guns might fail against a combination of powers, they have another, and perhaps more profitable, use. They are vital to a policy of blackmail. We use this ugly word advisedly. The generals would obviously not object to using their military strength to blackmail the world if it were quite certain that they would not have to risk a war which might lead to the defeat of Germany. They share Herr Hitler's view that democratic government creates a spirit of "softness" which makes countries willing to submit to almost any demands rather than to go to war. This theory has been justified by the march of events.

It is only too well known that Germany, to use a vulgarism, has "got away" with a succession of treaty breaches which has few parallels in history,



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

YE MODERN JOUST

and that these successes were obtained when Germany's armaments were much below their present strength. The climax of German rearmament will soon be reached; meanwhile, the blackmail policy is being perfected in all its details.

What should England do when confronted by German blackmail? The answer is clear. Any financial or territorial concessions made to the present German regime would serve only to perpetuate the gangster tyranny which has forced Europe to become an armed, or rapidly arming, camp. Knowing, as Britain does, that peace and Nazi methods go ill together, we should make no concessions to a country dominated by men who worship force and have shown no hesitation in using murder as an instrument of domestic and foreign policy.

We regret to have to admit that from a small but rather influential circle in the City of London there flows a constant stream of propaganda in favor of credits for Germany. These propagandists say that a loan to Germany would be a twofold investment. We could buy off German aggression and, by propping up an admittedly desperate and faithless tyranny, we could prevent Germany from falling into Communism. Intelligent Englishmen are unlikely to be terrified by the threat. The notion that English money would keep Communism from flowing into Germany is inherently ridiculous. English money is far more likely to be used for the creation of poison gas and other delectable munitions. The truth is that most Englishmen find it difficult to discover any fundamental difference between what the poverty of our language forces us to call the "principles" of Communism and those of Nazism. They certainly

do not feel that England is well cast in role of financial missioner to save Germany from Bolshevism.

The conclusion of the whole matter is that Herr Hitler must reap what he has sown, and his "nuisance value" must be discounted in his own disillusioned country and not in the City of London. Apart from the fact that it is contrary to the public interest to grant credits to Germany, it is clear that from the standpoint of the investor, Germany is a bottomless pit. And the bluster and bad faith, which have been the main ingredients of German foreign policy, have also characterized all Dr. Schacht's dealing with the English bankers and bondholders who have been foolish enough to put their trust in German promises.

—*Banker, London Financial Monthly.*

POWER AND PRIVILEGES

In Britain, for instance, the Hofmeyr school of liberalism is very prominent, yet it is evident that at the helm of the State stand those elements who may talk much about democracy, but whose supreme interest is to safeguard the financial and political hegemony of the upper classes. This alone explains why in Spain, where the issues are so clear cut, the democratic front in England, as expressed by the newspapers, is hopelessly divided. The "pure" democrats like the "Manchester Guardian" stand by their democratic tradition, while the political democrats of the Conservative school clearly favour a Fascist victory, lest a regime should arise in Spain which would threaten their own power and privilege. This alone really matters; the rest is just talk.

The same phenomenon is observable right through history. Christianity, as its founder understood it, was the first truly democratic movement in the history of mankind. But where was that Christian equality under the theocratic State of the Middle Ages? The Cardinals (the "political" Christians) wore their ermine robes in feudal splendour while the peasants had to content themselves with cotton smocks. To borrow from Macaulay, the peasants who asked for an acre in Warwickshire were promised a principality in Heaven—"pure" Christianity was nowhere to be found. Which all goes to prove that, like in the jungle, it is the struggle for existence and self-interest of groups within society that is the prime motive force in history, and not religion and pure morality which limp but lamely after this important truth. This alone explains the bloody struggles throughout history. Oppressed classes have only freed themselves from their oppression when they have been sufficiently strong—not sufficiently ethical—to assert themselves. That is where Mr. Hofmeyr must in the long run be defeated. People all over South Africa may admire his courage and convictions, even agree with him theoretically but let him genuinely try to remove some of their privileges and these same people will oppose him rifle in hand.

—*South African Opinion.*

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

Sir Austen was the best-dressed man in the House of Commons. He always had a reputation for being exceptionally well-groomed. His top hats, frock coats, his monocle and the flower in his buttonhole were famous.

His explanation why he took such particular pains to dress immaculately is an interesting bit of the family history of the Chamberlains.

"Many years ago," he told once, "my father said to me, 'My boy, to two things in life pay the greatest attention—your frock coats and your enemies. Frock coats are liable to crease; enemies, unless treated very carefully, are liable to increase. They both require "smoothing down" occasionally.'"

Sir Austen's first budget speech was a trying ordeal. He had to deliver it in the presence of no less than four ex-Chancellors and he came out of it with an enhanced reputation. His references to his predecessors, "whose memories would be kept green by the burdens they had laid upon the country," was a characteristic thrust.

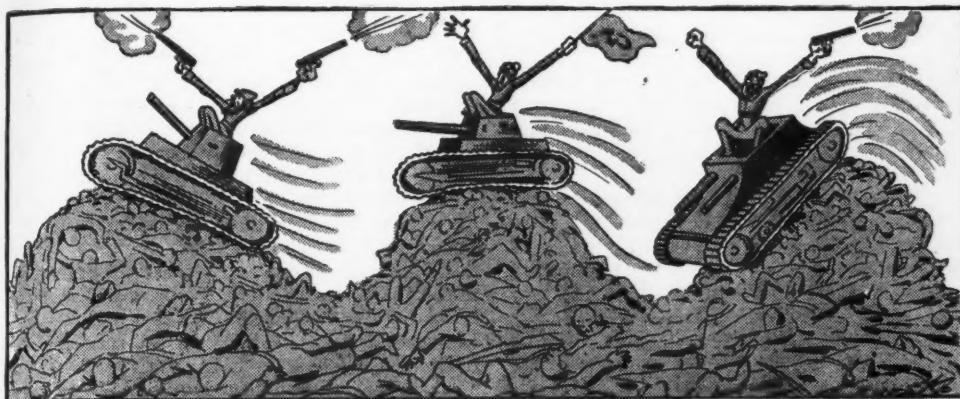
—*Curt Heymann.*



Il Travasò, Rome

MILITARY MEN MEET
"Who are you?"
"Who could I be? I am a volunteer"

Sir Austen Chamberlain was a great parliamentarian, a capable if not a great statesman—and, as Mr. Attlee has justly said, a very great gentleman. He had sat continuously in the House of Commons for 45 years and had filled many Government posts. His opponents have joined



Il 420, Florence

SOVIET CIVILIZATION IN SPAIN
"The Russian mountains"

with his friends in paying tribute to his high principles, his devoted public service, and the deep personal kindness which lay behind his stiff exterior. In politics he was a sound Conservative, but the son of "Radical Joe" was not the sort of man that reaction could always count on. He not only accepted, but warmly welcomed, the Irish Treaty of 1922, and five years later, as Foreign Secretary, his liberal attitude in China shocked Die-hards and Imperialists. His resignation of the India Office in 1917 after the revelations of medical incompetence in Mesopotamia was typical of his scrupulous sense of honour, as his obstinate support of Mr. Lloyd George (against his own political interests) in the Coalition period was typical of his generous loyalty. From the Locarno days on he had devoted himself mainly to international affairs, and in that field he made some bad blunders and did some good things. No one could question his sincerity or his desire to appease the passions of Europe. He was a consistent supporter of the League of Nations, but he saw it as something to be kept within close bounds. If in the plenitude of his power he had had a larger vision and courage, he might have immeasurably strengthened the spirit and authority of the League.

—*The New Statesman and Nation.*

GOD SAVE THE KING

I hear from America that the King's abdication has resulted in a general discontent with England, increased by the efforts of our upper class to repay hospitality by selling the Coronation to them. Apparently European favorite No. 1 is now M. Blum, and his exhibition, charmingly arranged along the leafiest part of the Seine, is going to be the great draw this summer. I wonder how many people who read this dread the Coronation as

much as I do, and feel it to be a great impending black-out of everything pleasant, an orgy of "solemn moments," scaffolding and traffic disorganization. I feel, too, that the king-making operation, though performed under an anaesthetic, is more serious than people suppose. How many of us can still nurse sentimental or romantic feelings about the Royal Family, to the exclusion of republican logic. If *God Save the King* were dropped from the cinemas, as a courtesy to foreigners (who do not have to listen to *The Star-Spangled Banner* or the *Marseillaise*), would it be so unwelcome? When one's head is full of Ginger Rogers and one's hands of overcoat, is that really the moment to contemplate the predicament of the sovereign or to request divine intercession to solve it?

—*The New Statesman and Nation, London.*

ARAB COMPLAINT

"The Fatherland is in danger."

These words should lead to a concentration of the whole national force in any independent country, awake its feeling of independence. This goes for Palestine, too.

This means: Let us prepare to find the road which will let us save our country and to combat the danger. What should a desperate man, the knife at his throat, do in a case like this? We are in just the situation of such a man: it is a question of life or death with us!

O Jews! Palestine is not a country which one can reduce to slavery! O Zionists! Palestine is not a cemetery!

The inhabitants have revolted several times and have shown that they are men! The courageous spirit of these men is not dead! Palestine is not a slave market! Even in its sufferings, the protection of Allah will cover it and its people who

suffer in silence, in the face of another race which fights it, and which is its sworn enemy, and which wishes to drive it from its native soil!

We have attracted the attention of the Government to the natural consequences of suppression and privation. Nothing is more true than that Palestine can keep silence, but it will not keep silent forever.

She can and will awake! The past proves this. The Government well knows this.

We address ourselves to men of good will: Don't continue to play politics! Don't turn your eyes from the will of the people! Do not say: There is a Balfour Declaration.

Above everything, there is the honour and sovereign right of a people. Does England wish this evil situation to continue?

We think that the answer will only be in the negative. We have lost patience. We no longer wish to let them mock at our rights. England! Watch out for your honour! If you don't we are ready to settle our accounts by ourselves!

—*China Outlook*.

AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY

We make the prediction that in due course former King Edward will find his most congenial future home in the United States. Assuming that he eventually marries Mrs. Simpson, as is more than likely, seeing that he gave up his Throne because of disagreement with his Ministers in connection with his intended marriage to the lady, there will be an added incentive to the ex-King

to make his future home in the "Land of the Free". Whether predictions previously made that he would never again set foot on British soil prove true or not, the fact remains that he is not likely to stay long at any time under the British flag, because of possible complications. If ex-King Edward should decide to take up his abode in the United States, he would find himself one of the most popular men in the country. The doors of American society in all parts of the Union would be thrown wide open to him, for, despite the fact that legally Americans are debarred from using titles of nobility, the average American still has a hankering for a "handle" to his name. The United States (particularly the southern part of it) has a great flock of "Colonels," "Majors" and "Judges." Nowhere is a title more honored (we speak now of social life) than under the Stars and Stripes. For that reason alone the ex-King would be welcome everywhere in the country, "from the rock-bound coast of Maine to the Golden Gate" to use the hackneyed spell-binders' formula. But among the great mass of the American people his popularity would rest on much firmer foundations. First of all he is "hail fellow, well met," an attribute which Americans particularly appreciate. Nor will any American, whether he be a Mayflower descendant or a recently naturalized immigrant, ever forget that here is a man who gave up the mightiest Throne on earth rather than abandon the American woman he loved.

—*China Weekly Review*.

THE NEW POLICY OF ITALY

The deliberations of the Fascist Grand Council are at present the subject of political conversations and of the comments of the press.

The general impression is that the decisions taken constitute a moderate answer to the rearmament of England. Confronted with a British program that, it is felt here, is liable to upset the balance of European forces, Italy is united in thinking that she must make a heroic effort in economic organization and in the sphere of foreign policy. Militarization, autarchy, reinforcement of the Berlin-Rome axis, all of these are closely interconnected in the mind of Italian public opinion which approves unreservedly the attitude of its leaders.

In the sphere of Foreign politics the accord with Germany, formerly regarded with misgivings by many Italian circles, now appears as an inevitable necessity in view of the British armaments. It is in this sense that the Grand Council was unanimous in solemnly proclaiming the close solidarity of the two countries.

It is interesting to note that the reinforcement of this understanding coincides with the suppression in Rome of currents favorable to the restoration of the Hapsburgs. Italy finds herself obliged



New York World-Telegram

A THEORY COLLIDES WITH A FACT

to sacrifice more and more of her claims in the zone of the Danube to her formidable partner, and the *asservissement* of Austria is likely to be the price of the reinforcement of the Italo-German Alliance.

True it is that, forced out of Central Europe, Italy seems to turn more and more to the Mediterranean. It is to this that the desire of collaboration with the Balkan peoples expressed by the Grand Council may be attributed. An entirely new Roman policy is taking shape; a policy that tends to push Fascist Italy far beyond the scope of its traditional field of activity.

—*Figaro*, Paris.

GERMAN ECONOMY

Despite all superficial indications of a prosperous economic boom, economic conditions in Germany are fundamentally far from sound. During the last few years German prices, German currency and the German economy as a whole have become increasingly divorced from the rest of the world. While the German people are unlikely to starve and a financial collapse does not appear imminent, this progressive isolation has created severe stress and strain. In the end there are probably only two ways out of the present dilemma: an "explosion," as Dr. Schacht once prophesied, leading to forcible territorial expansion; or the reintegration of Germany in the world economy. British and French statesmen have been trying to persuade the Reich to adopt the latter alternative.

Formidable obstacles face the resumption of complete economic and financial collaboration between Germany and other countries. The mark would have to be devalued and realigned with foreign currencies, while foreign exchange controls and drastic import restrictions would need to be abandoned. This in itself involves grave problems of readjustment. Germany does not appear anxious, moreover, to give up the campaign for greater self-sufficiency which many National Socialists regard as the inevitable corollary of political independence. It would at any rate insist upon certain conditions—reduction in the foreign debt and return of the German colonies—which other nations are reluctant to concede. Nor is Germany itself prepared to accept political conditions for any outside economic and financial assistance that might prove necessary. When proffering such aid recently, both Britain and France made clear that they expected the Reich in return to participate in a general political settlement involving, among other stipulations, an all-around reduction of armaments. The German press and officials responded to these offers with a firm refusal to trade Germany's "political freedom" for a "mess of pottage." At present the trend in Germany is clearly toward greater economic isolation from the rest of the world. If this tendency is pushed to its logical conclusion, it



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"NICE DOGGIE"

should ultimately lead toward a completely planned economy.

—*Foreign Policy Association, Inc.*

ARTIFICIAL HOSTILITY

Although Germans may not find it pleasant, it is a fact that the number of points of agreement between the earlier periods of Bolshevik Russia and the Third Reich is surprisingly great. The Nazi Party in Germany, just as the Communist Party in Russia, has no very convincing majority. Moreover, the Nazi Party is not homogeneous and it has not such a definite doctrine as Communism has. The German nation was unanimous for obtaining national equality and rearmament. National equality it has obtained, and as to rearmament, it has nothing to complain of. The oppressive burden on the taxpayer and the sacrifices in order to reach the goal have rather dulled the brilliance of Germany's new "freedom." New slogans have to be invented, or old ones repeated with more force. The former has not occurred, although the latter has: the standard of the anti-Communist crusade was once more raised. Nuremberg was devised to re-awaken the German people, but the effect in the border States was not very considerable since so many similar explosions have been heard, both from Germany and from Russia.

Nobody, then, in the border States attached very much importance to the international significance of the Nuremberg speeches, neither was anything more dangerous expected than verbal abuse;

in fact, it seemed that the speeches were chiefly intended for home consumption. Official expert observers in Russia and in the border States do not pretend to believe that Germany, without aid, will be able to attack Russia for a few years. Where is Germany to find allies for an undertaking fraught with so much risk? The Baltic States certainly do not even consider it, and Poland would not be particularly anxious for a war on her territory. It is also very doubtful whether Japan alone could be a decisive factor to the detriment of Russia.

At the moment, therefore, the Baltic States are not very perturbed as to the possibility of a well-planned attack by Germany on Russia, although the military value of the Franco-Russian pact is regarded here as doubtful. Many think that the pact is more in the nature of a wedge between Germany and Russia than a bond between France and Russia.

The Baltic States also consider that the violent shouting matches between Germany and Russia were promoted and controlled by the Governments and are not necessarily a permanent factor in the relations between the two countries. Common economic interests are at present breaching the artificial wall of hatred, which but a few months ago appeared totally impenetrable.

Meanwhile, the possibility of an armed conflict between Germany and Russia is at the present moment apparent, and should civil war break out or be induced in one of the buffer-States, hostilities between Germany and Russia could, by a "natural" process, develop from it. This danger is amply

illustrated in Spain. It is unnecessary to say how important for the peace of Europe is peace in the States between Germany and Russia, and how carefully the situation there must be watched, lest opportunity for dissatisfaction occur, which could be fanned into flame.

—*Algemeen Handelsblad*, Amsterdam.

GERMAN-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE?

It would surprise a good many people in Berlin and Moscow if they knew how much experts in London and Paris were preoccupied with the idea not of a German-Russian war, but of a German-Russian alliance.

After all, Stalin seems as determined as any Nazi could be to destroy the Comintern, and Hitler is careful to point out that he has no quarrel with the Russians but only with their Communists. The gap now is not very wide, for Germany is becoming more socialist and Russia is becoming more nationalist. Months ago one of the heads of the French Foreign Office told me that the principal reason for the signature of the Franco-Russian pact, was the desire to forestall the signature of a German-Russian one. For that same reason, even the British Government is now beginning to develop quite an affection for a pact which has no justification under the League Covenant.

—Vernon Bartlett, *World Review*, London.

ANDRÉ GIDE'S COMMUNISM

When André Gide, after a visit to the depths of Africa, proclaimed himself to be a Communist, his statement on that occasion was primarily a matter of aesthetics, a fit of sentimentality on the part of an emotional writer whose nerves had been shaken by the sufferings of the exploited Congo Negroes. In the Soviet Union his references to Communism, his outpourings in the beautiful book on his journey to Africa, were accepted as something which had political significance. Actually, this was never so. Gide's *Communism* was not a result of logical reasoning. His embracing of Communism was a matter of sentiment; it was only an accident that he did not at that time come out in favour of Catholicism. He could just as easily have come to Jesus and Mary as to Marx and Lenin.

Besides, Gide undoubtedly went to the Soviet Union with a number of misconceptions. He misunderstood the draft of the Soviet Constitution and confused the genuine democracy to which the U.S.S.R. has come with the formal democracy of the Western European countries. He was therefore deeply disappointed when he failed to find in the Soviet Union freedom of opinion and of the Press in the Western sense. He was undoubtedly sorely upset when he saw that the Soviet people had no intention of replacing their Socialism by the parliamentarism of West-European coinage.



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HEIL!

André Gide went to the U.S.S.R. as a Parisian with a refined taste, a scoffer, extremely self-centred, who regarded Paris as the natural centre of the world. He viewed without the least bit of sympathetic interest the great things one can see in the Soviet Union; however, his attention and interest were drawn to some petty tastelessness which can indisputably be found here. Just as the French for a long time refused to recognize the greatness of Shakespeare, constantly accusing him of tastelessness and barbarism and at best recognizing him to be only a brilliant savage, just so did Gide's captious eye see in the Soviet Union petty defects, tastelessness, a lack of comforts. But he did not see the great, lofty planned development of the whole.

Gide speaks at great length about the "regimentation of souls" in the Soviet Union, about the growing "levelling." He forgets that a totally new culture is being created here, which is only in its initial stage, that a large proportion of the people, its majority, is in a certain sense only learning to read. But the letters of the alphabet, the elementary principles of the individual sciences are the same, they are not individualised. It is wrong to expect and it would be undesirable for anyone who begins to read "A" or "O," to pronounce this "A" or "O" individually as "E" or "U." When they learn to read better here, and this is a matter of a short time, then the laying of greater emphasis on the individual will be permissible.

As for other things, it cannot be denied that greater tolerance in certain spheres is desirable. But does not Gide know that the Soviet Union is faced with a serious menace, that it feels itself to be in a state of war? Does not André Gide know that people here must work like those biblical Jews who built their new temple holding a mason's tool in one hand and a sword in the other? Under these conditions it is not as simple and it is inexpedient to slacken discipline. Gide came to the Soviet Union not as a man who wants to observe without prejudice, but as a surfeited aesthete who yearns for new sensations. He found things not to his taste. This is his private affair. But he made this fact known at a time when the attack on Spain threatens the cause of the struggle for Socialism in France and throughout the world; this was—and even the aesthete Gide ought to have understood that—aid to the enemy, a blow at Socialism, a blow at progress the world over.

By publishing his poor little book just at this time, Gide deprived himself of the right to call himself a Socialist writer.

—Lion Feuchtwanger, *Pravda*, Moscow.

SOVIET ARCTIC ADVENTURE

No country is as naturally oriented toward the Arctic as the Soviet Union, which largely explains



NEA Service
MARVELOUS!

why it is now the most active pioneer in the North. Large sections of the USSR are drained by rivers flowing into the Arctic. The Ob, Yenisei and Lena River systems, three of the six largest in the world, flow northward and drain most of Siberia. These rivers serve as barriers to east-west routes of travel, and, in turn, their full use as north-south routes is obstructed by the difficulty of navigation because of ice in their lower reaches. No railroads cross these rivers, except in their upper waters, where the Trans-Siberian Railroad bridges them near the southern border of Siberia. North of the railroad the natural outlet for the wealth of Siberia is toward the Arctic, but, until navigation in the Arctic Sea is made practicable, large sections of Siberia must remain undeveloped.

The Arctic Region of the USSR is rich in natural resources. Its seas abound with animal life and provide excellent fishing and hunting grounds, while on the islands and the mainland there are valuable fur-bearing animals. Extensive mineral resources are being found, which promise to be of importance in supplying the whole country with raw materials not found elsewhere in the USSR, as well as in making possible new industrial centers in the North. Political considerations also play an important part in stimulating the rapid development of the Soviet Arctic. With world conditions primed for another world war in which countries both to the east and west of the USSR are likely to be involved, the Soviet Union realizes that it cannot depend on linking its Far Eastern and western provinces solely by the Trans-Siberian Railroad and the 12,700 mile water route to the south of Asia.

Foreign Policy Association, Inc.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Mar. 11–Apr. 11

DOMESTIC

MARCH 11—Assistant Attorney General Robert H. Jackson second administration witness before Senate Judiciary Committee; urges Congress end Supreme Court veto power on economic legislation.

Secretary of State Hull instructs U. S. Ambassador Dodd to make "emphatic comment" on obscene Reich press attacks over La Guardia incident.

Auto strike deadlocked over "closed shop" issue; both sides charge violations of previous agreement in Chrysler Corporation plants; negotiations broken between union and Hudson Motor Car officials.

President Roosevelt leaves Washington for vacation in Warm Springs, Georgia.

United Mine Workers of America, C. I. O. union, demand sole bargaining agency for Illinois coal miners.

American Bar Association members disapprove President Roosevelt's court reform plan by six to one vote.

House passes Guffey-Vinson Coal Bill to regulate bituminous coal industry.

Representative Dickstein, of New York, tells House Rules Committee 100 foreign spies at work in U. S. "to foment a Fascist plot"; pleads for rule to permit investigation of financing of foreign propaganda.

C. A. Dykstra, Cincinnati City Manager, offered University of Wisconsin presidency to succeed Dr. Glenn Frank.

MARCH 12—Ambassador William E. Dodd delivers strong protest to German Foreign Minister over Reich press attack.

Senators Walsh, of Massachusetts, Burke, of Nebraska, Copeland, of New York, score President Roosevelt's court reform plan, in New York; hold plan peril to rights of citizens, states, minorities.

Senate Judiciary Committee hears pro and con arguments on President Roosevelt's court reform plan.

United Automobile Workers of America and General Motors Corporation reach final agreement on strike.

Dr. Francis E. Townsend, old age pension advocate, sentenced to thirty days in jail, fined \$100 for contempt of House of Representatives; defendant at liberty until appeal is heard.

Chrysler Corporation officials not to make up payrolls; cannot get records from office held by "sit-down" strikers.

"Sit-down" strike wave hits Chicago; 9,000 idle in thirteen minor labor disputes.

MARCH 13—Senator Pittman proposes amendment to President Roosevelt's court reform plan to fix Supreme Court Justices permanently at fifteen.

Roosevelt administration watches European developments; may ask arms limitation if opportunity arises.

Hitler declines to apologize for Reich press attacks on America; lays attack to "understandable irritation."

MARCH 14—N. L. R. B. rules Remington Rand, engaged in wholesale violations of National Labor Relations Act and resorted to "ruthless" methods in breaking strike of 6,000 which began May 26, 1936; board orders company to rehire 4,000 said to have lost jobs in strike.

Briggs Manufacturing Company, auto body makers, announces 19,400 of 33,750 workers idle as auto strike curtails production.

C. A. Dykstra, Cincinnati City Manager, accepts offer to become University of Wisconsin president.

MARCH 15—Circuit Court Judge Allan Campbell, in Detroit, issues mandatory injunction ordering evacuation of strikers from eight Chrysler Corporation plants.

Remington Rand announces it will not comply with ruling of N. L. R. B.; will fight ruling in court.

John L. Lewis, C. I. O. head, at anti-Nazi meeting in New York, says industrial democracy best guarantee against Fascism in U. S.

MARCH 16—"Sit-down" strikers in eight Chrysler Corporation plants, defiant of court order; Detroit faces general strike.

Minor "sit-down" strikes reported in New Jersey despite Governor Hoffman's ban.

Nation's railroads and union officials sign agreement; agreement covers pensions for 1,500,000 workers after Congress enacts legislation to validate plan.

U. S. Supreme Court Justice McReynolds tells small fraternity audience "evidence of good sportsmanship" is to accept outcome of "fair tribunal"; hits court reform plan by implication.

MARCH 17—"Sit-down" strikers defy court order to vacate eight Chrysler Corporation plants; Governor Murphy of Michigan warns of force.

United Steel Corporation signs agreement with C. I. O. affiliates; contract supplementing one of March 2 recognizes right of union to deal for members.

Senators Johnson, Lewis, King, denounce "sit-down" strikes.

Secretary of State Hull urges truce in row with Nazis as Germans again protest.

MARCH 18—Estimated 400 school children and teachers killed in explosion of New London, Texas school; blame gas from nearby fields for explosion which completely demolishes building; one third of total enrollment killed.

House passes McReynolds discretionary neutrality resolution by 374 to 2 vote; bill would substitute Pittman mandatory legislation.

Tentative agreements to end Remington Rand strike drawn up in Secretary of Labor Perkins' office.

MARCH 19—Rain hampers workers recovering bodies from ruins of New London, Texas, school; plan military court of inquiry to determine cause of blast; death toll put at 455.

U. S. Supreme Court Justices not to give views on President Roosevelt's court reform plan to Senate Judiciary Committee.

Circuit Court Judge Allan Campbell, in Detroit, signs order for arrest of 6,000 "sit-down" strikers holding eight Chrysler Corporation plants.

Both Houses of Congress assail "sit-down" strikes; also criticize President Roosevelt's labor policies and attitude of industry in labor unrest.

MARCH 20—New York *Times* survey of strike situation indicates Michigan, Illinois, Indiana major trouble centers.

Parents bury 455 children killed in New London, Texas, school disaster; inquiry board convenes.

Ferdinand Pecora, New York State Supreme Court Justice, charges big business originator of "sit-down" strikes before Senate Judiciary Committee; charges investment bankers "sat-down" for modification of Securities Act of 1933.

MARCH 21—Homer Martin, United Automobile Workers of America president, orders all Detroit auto locals except General Motors to prepare for general strike in protest of strike raids; ask mass demonstration against city authorities March 23.

Reveal gas line of oil company tapped by New London, Texas, school; furthers theory accumulated gas caused explosion.

MARCH 22—Senator Wheeler, of Montana, reads letter from Chief Justice Hughes to Senate Judiciary Committee; Hughes calls enlarging court unnecessary and move that will "impair" its efficiency.

Representative Hoffman, of Michigan, declares in House President Roosevelt could halt "sit-down" strikes.

Senate passes Naval Appropriation Bill by 64 to 11 vote; bill carries total of \$512,847,808 for 1938 fiscal year.

MARCH 23—60,000 workers rally in Cadillac Square, Detroit; Walter P. Chrysler and John L. Lewis, C. I. O. head, to meet with Governor Murphy, of Michigan, to settle auto strike.

Professor Moley, former close advisor of President Roosevelt, condemns court reform plan before Senate Judiciary Committee; holds plan "easy path of expediency" which may lead to "atrophy and death" of democracy.

MARCH 24—John L. Lewis, C. I. O. head, agrees to evacuate "sit-down" strikers from eight Chrysler Corporation plants in Detroit; Chrysler not to re-open plants during collective bargaining negotiations.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, offers new Child Labor Amendment fixing age limit at 14 years instead of 18 years in amendment now pending before states; Senator Wheeler, of Montana, offers bill to make "products of child labor subject to laws of state into which they are shipped."

MARCH 25—"Sit-down" strikers quit eight Chrysler Corporation plants in Detroit; peace negotiations deadlocked.

Congress discusses "sit-down" strikes; Senator Vandenberg, of Michigan, hopes for statement from President Roosevelt.

MARCH 26—Collective bargaining issue divides auto union and Chrysler Corporation officials. Military court of inquiry on Texas school disaster urges building control; find explosion caused by accumulated gas.

MARCH 27—Administration adopts "hands off" policy in labor situation; Senator Robinson, majority leader, says no immediate need for legislation on "sit-down" strikes.

WPA reports 20% production increase over 1929 necessary to reduce unemployment to 1929 level.

MARCH 28—William Green, A. F. of L. president, brands "sit-down" strikes illegal; warns labor against weapon.

John L. Lewis, C. I. O. head, quits Michigan for coal parley in New York; auto conferences to continue.

MARCH 29—U. S. Supreme Court rules Minimum Wages for Women Act of Washington State constitutional in 5 to 4 decision; decision reverses decision in Adkins case formerly held barrier against minimum wage acts.

Senator Carter Glass, of Virginia, bitterly assails President Roosevelt's court reform plan in air talk; calls plan "utterly destitute of moral sensibility."

U. S. Supreme Court unanimously upholds revised Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Moratorium Law.

U. S. Supreme Court unanimously upholds sections of Railway Labor Act requiring railroads to engage in collective bargaining.

MARCH 30—Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, replies to Senator Carter Glass in air talk; characterizes statements President Roosevelt trying to undermine or destroy Supreme Court as "ignorance or misrepresentation."

Negotiations for new contract for 400,000 soft coal miners deadlocked: old contracts expire midnight March 31.

MARCH 31—Senator Wagner, of New York, defends "sit-down" strikes in Senate; says strikes "provoked by long-standing ruthless tactics of a few great corporations."

House Agricultural Committee strikes from Farm Tenancy Bill section providing \$50,000,000 yearly to finance farmers seeking to own farms they operate for others.

APRIL 1—Senator Byrnes, of South Carolina, introduces resolution he terms tantamount to "declaration of public policy" against "sit-down" strikes.

"Sit-down" strikes close Chevrolet plant of General Motors Corporation, in Flint, Michigan;

30,000 idle as other General Motors Corporation units close.

Governor Hurley, of Massachusetts, vetoes resolution for repeal of teachers oath bill.

Negotiations for new contract for soft coal miners deadlocked.

APRIL 2—House Rules Committee favorably reports Dies resolution for inquiry into "sit-down" strikes.

"Sit-down" strikers hold Ford assembly plant in Kansas City; strikers protesting alleged discrimination in "lay-offs."

"Sit-down" strikers quit main plant of Chevrolet Motor Company, General Motors subsidiary, in Flint, Michigan; General Motors Corporation demands union live up to "permanent peace" agreement of March 12.

United Mine Workers of America sign two year agreement with soft coal operators; agreement grants \$85,000,000 wage rise to 300,000 workers in eight states.

President Roosevelt announces government will curtail purchases in durable goods field; will place emphasis on consumer goods.

APRIL 3—Commerce Committee of Senate in report outlines recommendations to make ships "absolutely fireproof."

Senator Wheeler, of Montana, assails proposed curtailment of government purchases of durable goods; hold plan would throw miners out of work.

Walter P. Chrysler and John L. Lewis, C. I. O. head, resume conferences to end auto strike in Chrysler Corporation plants.

"Sit-down" strikers quit Ford assembly plant in Kansas City; peace negotiations started.

Strike in General Motors Corporation plants ended; Homer Martin, union president, hits unauthorized strikes.

APRIL 4—Strike in Ford assembly plant in Kansas City ended; men to return to work.

Report twenty-nine Americans held in Toulouse, France; men said to be volunteers for Spanish loyalist army.

APRIL 5—Senate defeats Byrnes amendment to Guffey-Vinson Coal Bill to condemn "sit-down" strikes by 48 to 36 vote; passes Guffey-Vinson Coal Bill by 58 to 15 vote.

Secretary of Treasury Morgenthau announces Treasury will have to borrow before end of fiscal period, June 30; does not disclose amount needed.

APRIL 6—Chrysler Corporation strike ended; agreement covers collective bargaining and related issues; new conferences will settle wages, hours, working conditions.

Congress bloc formed to lower relief appropriation; see threat of new taxes as government revenue fails to meet Treasury estimate.

Vermont Legislature passes bill to outlaw "sit-down" strikes; bill provides minimum sentence of two years' imprisonment or not more than \$1,000 fine.

APRIL 7—3,000 farmers oust 500 "sit-down" strikers from Hershey Chocolate plant in Hershey, Pennsylvania; farmers angry at losing daily market for 800,000 pounds of milk.

Senate passes and sends to House of Representatives concurrent resolution intended as rebuke by Congress to both sides in labor controversies.

APRIL 8—House defeats Dies resolution for "sit-down" strike inquiry by 236 to 149 vote.

APRIL 9—President Roosevelt denies administration plans change in gold buying policy to lower price per ounce.

President Roosevelt reiterates hope of no new taxes in current session of Congress.

APRIL 10—Henry Ford hints of wage rise to combat unionization of his plants.

Peace negotiations started between company and union officials to end strike in plants of Hershey Chocolate Company, in Hershey, Pennsylvania.

APRIL 11—Nine shot in union riot in Galena, Kansas; local union resists organizing by affiliate of C. I. O.

Battle over President Roosevelt's court reform plan grows in tensity; Senate Judiciary Committee hearings nearing close.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

MARCH 11—Loyalists check rebel drive on Guadalajara.

Loyalist authorities charge 30,000 Italians with rebel army in Guadalajara; accuse Italy of waging an "undeclared war" on Spain.

MARCH 12—Report rebel advance in northeast drive on Madrid; within six and one half miles of Guadalajara.

MARCH 13—Loyalists push back foe on Guadalajara front; report Italian troops turned and fled.

MARCH 14—Loyalists capture guns, food, ammunition of Guadalajara front as foe flees in disorder.

MARCH 16—Loyalists press rebels in Guadalajara sector; loyalists launch heavy air attack.

MARCH 17—Rebels attack on Cordoba front.

MARCH 18—Loyalists extend gains in Guadalajara sector; recapture Brihuega on Tajuna River fifty-two miles northeast of Madrid.

MARCH 19—Loyalists encircle rebels in Oviedo; cut communications.

MARCH 20—Report rebels retreating in panic in Guadalajara sector; loyalists report large gains.

MARCH 21—Loyalists continue advance in Guadalajara sector.

MARCH 22—Rebels rally forces to slow Loyalist advance in Guadalajara sector.

Rebel plane bombs Valencia.

MARCH 23—Rebels check loyalist advance in Guadalajara sector; loyalists repulse rebel attack on Jarama front.

MARCH 24—Guadalajara front deadlocked.

MARCH 25—Loyalists launch attack at Pozoblanco; rebels shell Madrid.

MARCH 26—Rebel siege of Pozoblanco broken by loyalists.

MARCH 27—Rebels gain at Pozoblanco in counter attack.

MARCH 29—Report rebels sank loyalist ship in French waters; British ship reports rebels fired on her.

MARCH 29—Loyalists counter-attack gains on Cordoba front; rebels report gains on Saragossa front.

MARCH 30—London reports mutinies, desertions, cripple both sides. Loyalists gain in Northern Cordoba Province; capture Alcaracejos, Villanueva del Duque. Rebel planes bomb Madrid.

MARCH 31—Loyalists press retreating rebels on Cordoba front; rebels abandon important railroad town of El Saldado.

APRIL 1—Loyalist gains on three fronts relieve pressure on Madrid; rebels launch drive on Bilbao.

APRIL 2—Rebel forces gain in drive on Bilbao.

APRIL 3—Loyalists advance on Cordoba, Asturias, El Pardo fronts; fighting on Basque front quiet.

APRIL 4—Loyalists capture Valsequillo on Cordoba front; rebels gain in drive on Bilbao.

APRIL 5—Report 80 Russian pursuit planes used in loyalist army. Rebels capture Ochandiano, key town on Basque front; loyalists continue gains on Cordoba front.

APRIL 6—Loyalists' planes halt rebel bombing force on Basque front; also check rebel infantry.

APRIL 7—Loyalists advance on Cordoba front; capture Calatravero Pass and Chimorra Hill overlooking Villaharta. Rebels advance on Basque front.

APRIL 8—Loyalists close gap on Cordoba front.

APRIL 9—Loyalists launch offensive to end Madrid siege; rebels bomb Bilbao.

APRIL 10—Loyalists make slight gains in drive to end Madrid siege.

APRIL 11—Loyalists bomb Franceses Bridge over Manzanares River to cut rebels from force in University City.

INTERNATIONAL

MARCH 11—Sir Samuel Hoare tells British House of Commons that new naval building program will keep trade routes open; asserts that naval rivalry with U. S. is over.

MARCH 12—Germany proposes localized non-aggressive pact between herself, France, and Belgium, guaranteed by Great Britain and Italy and divorced from League of Nations, to replace Treaty of Locarno; Rome submits similar proposal. League of Nations committee for study of raw materials adjourned until June 21 because of political difficulties.

Japanese troops reported retiring from Chahar.

MARCH 14—Germany and Italy, in moves to London, suggest abrogation of Franco-Soviet pact as conditions for New Locarno.

Swedish Foreign Minister to visit London; British oppose tendency illustrated by recent plans for economic cooperation between Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

Japanese liquidating drive in Mongolia.

MARCH 15—England obtains Swedish affirmation of friendship as first step in cultivating Western European bloc including Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Belgium.

MARCH 17—British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden queries Italy concerning landing of Italian troops at Cadiz, Spain, on March 6. Japan will refuse to adhere to London naval pact or to limit battleship guns to maximum of 14 inches.

Hitler reported to have offered Denmark a treaty of non-aggression.

MARCH 19—King Leopold of Belgium visits England to discuss possible pact, intended as basis for new Locarno settlement, through multilateral guarantee of Belgian independence.

MARCH 23—Mussolini angrily attacks foreign anti-fascist critics. Italy refuses to discuss withdrawal of volunteers from Spain.

MARCH 24—France and Russia express resentment of extensive Italian intervention in Spain.

MARCH 25—Italy and Yugoslavia sign pact guaranteeing mutual frontiers and status quo in Adriatic Sea.

MARCH 29—Revolt in ranks of Spanish insurgents reported; German broadcast refers to "revolt" at Malaga; 30 officers declared shot in Spanish Morocco, and commandant at La Linea replaced. Rebels fire upon British freighter. British and French reach full agreement on Spanish policy.

MARCH 30—Reports of mutinies in Spanish rebel ranks, as result of Italian military failures, confirmed; similar outbreaks alleged in loyalist camp. British warn rebels against molestation of shipping.

MARCH 31—With reports of discontent among Spanish combatants, French consider new move to withdraw aliens from Spain. Italy conditionally agreeable to discontinue sending volunteers, despite reports of landing of 1,000 in Morocco.

APRIL 1—Reports state that President Roosevelt will call international arms conference in Copenhagen next summer. Patrolling of Spain to begin April 10.

APRIL 2—Despite optimistic official communiques, Czechoslovakia and Rumania reported to have attacked Yugoslav-Italian pact.

APRIL 6—Italian press campaign charges violations of non-intervention pact. Franco-Soviet relations reported cool, owing to French refusal to conclude a military alliance.

APRIL 7—Italy accusing France of directly aiding Spanish loyalists and training their aviators.

APRIL 9—Three U. S. missionaries ousted from Ethiopia; Italian Press denies breach of international law. Austrian press lashes out at German newspapers charging Austrian discrimination against German Nationals.

APRIL 10—Britain dispatches 46,200 ton battle cruiser *Hood* to Bay of Biscay to test rebel blockade.

FOREIGN

Bolivia

MARCH 16—Bolivian Government cancels Standard Oil Company's concessions and confiscates its holdings, charging non-payment of royalties on exported oil.

Canada

MARCH 17—Mitchell Hepburn, Premier of Ontario, bans sit-down strikes, hoping for influx of American industries.

MARCH 24—Federal Minister of Justice declares all sit-down strikes illegal in Canada, as legal means of redressing grievances already existing.

MARCH 29—Railway strike ends as employees gain restoration of 10 per cent pay cuts.

MARCH 31—Federal Government plans to take profit out of war through bill for control by licensing system of manufacture, export, and import of arms.

Ethiopia

MARCH 12—Italian reprisals stir native resentment; difficulties foreseen for Fascist regime.

France

MARCH 11—President Albert Lebrun launches appeal for subscriptions to 5,000,000,000-franc defense and restoration loan.

MARCH 13—Schneider-Creusot, France's largest arms firm to be expropriated by Government.

MARCH 17—Four dead, 300 injured in Fascist-Communist riots in Clichy.

MARCH 18—General Confederation of Labor workers declare half-day strike as protest against "fascists" but not against Premier Blum.

MARCH 19—No disorder results from strike; Leftist leaders pledge continued allegiance to Premier Blum; political calm restored.

MARCH 24—Popular Front wins vote of confidence in Chamber of Deputies by 362-215, but future break with Communists predicted.

Germany

MARCH 16—Colonel General Hermann Goering hints of assassination plot against Hitler in radio broadcast.

MARCH 23—State to take over farms operated by laggards, in order to increase production.

MARCH 24—Germany now providing one third of its textile needs, Goering tells manufacturers.

MARCH 30—General Ludendorff makes peace with Hitler, receiving acknowledgment as "the Field Lord of the Great War."

MARCH 31—New conception of law, eliminating "abstract property rights," predicted.

Great Britain

MARCH 13—Air net barrages, sustained by balloons, planned to defend London from air raids.

MARCH 16—War Minister Alfred Duff Cooper announces that soldiers will have four meals a day.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, architect of Locarno treaty, dies of apoplexy.

MARCH 18—Dean of Winchester denounces Mussolini as "madman."

MARCH 31—Budget year 1936-7 ends with real surplus of £7,530,000 despite expenditure of £186,072,000 on defense.

Italy

MARCH 16—Mussolini triumphantly enters Tripoli in Libya on white charger.

MARCH 17—Mussolini tells Libyans that League of Nations sanctions have not been forgotten; promises protection to Jews.

MARCH 18—Mussolini promotes Fascist protection for Moslems.

Japan

MARCH 14—Premier Hayashi endorses suggestions that Army restrict itself to questions of defense.

MARCH 15—Civilian elements seen as taking initiative against Army.

MARCH 27—Council called by Tokyo Chamber of Commerce demands a moderation of Japanese policy in China; victory for moderates seen.

MARCH 31—In sudden move, Premier Hayashi dissolves House of Representatives as reprimand to political parties for failure to pass bills; Army reported to have favored move.

APRIL 1—Dissolution denounced as pro-army move; elections set for April 30; Cabinet may cooperate with one of the political parties.

Mexico

MARCH 14—President Lazaro Cárdenas declares that Mexicans have complete liberty to attend Churches.

Russia

MARCH 15—*Pravda* and *Izvestia* attack clique rule in Moscow soviet, demand democracy.

MARCH 24—Workers standards show improvement; number of workers and employees now 25,000,000 as compared with 12,000,000 in 1928; total annual wages now 71,000,000,000 rubles as compared to 8,000,000,000 in 1928.

MARCH 28—Joseph Stalin attacks complacency and excessive adulation directed towards himself.

MARCH 30—Alarmed by a slump in industrial output, government orders 20 per cent increase in total production.

APRIL 1—Stalin speech published, urging Communist Party to get in closer touch with the people.

APRIL 3—Henry G. Yagoda, former head of O.G.P.U. to be tried for criminal activities.

This Month's

CURRENT HISTORY

A short time ago, the press and the public broke out into a screaming anti-Nazi crusade which recalled the frenzied horror stories of the Great War. Because of a relatively temporary form of government, the whole German nation was picked as a villain out of hand, and this despite a continuing relationship between America and Germany as nations which did little to justify the war-drums. The pros and cons of the outburst, which contrasts so strangely with our professions of neutrality, are examined by the editors in *Noise Over the Nazis*.

On April 30, Japan will go to the polls, as a result of the Hayashi Government's dissolution of the lower house. A general election shows that they still vote in Japan, but it is becoming a diminishingly important privilege. In *Japan's Halfway House to Fascism*, W. H. Chamberlin explains why this is so and describes the whole background of the election. Mr. Chamberlin, the author of several notable books on Russia, is perhaps best known as *The Christian Science Monitor's* distinguished correspondent for the Far East.

The controversy over the President's proposals continues to rage virulently, and more emotion than clear thought has been expended upon it. M. E. Tracy, the editor and publisher of *Current History*, strips away a lot of the bunkum from the issue and sheds some new light on it in *This Supreme Court Muddle*.

Few journalists enjoy the enviable reputation of S. K. Ratcliffe as an interpreter of England to America and vice-versa; and it is no easy job. In *As Britain Crowns a King*, he presents a vivid picture of the mysterious entity known as the British Empire and describes the complex problems its members face as they meet to crown a new king.

Ever since his sensational rise to power in Mexico, President Cárdenas has had a habit of striking the American headlines. His rise to power, his methods of staying there, his policies and the success they have enjoyed in Mexico are intimately related by Carleton Beals in *Cárdenas Organizes Capitalism*. Mr. Beals is the well-known author and publicist who is once again down in Mexico, this time to hear and sift the charges against Leon Trotsky.

The Spanish rebels have found it pretty tough going during the last few months; their troubles, however, have not been only from without but also

from within, and many splits threaten the ranks of the gallant band of nationalists who set out to save Spain. L. F. Gittler, who recently returned from the scene of the conflict, has covered a multitude of Spanish and Portuguese sources to bring to light a lot of new material on *Spain's Rebel Chiefs*—what each hopes to do, who is the boss, and who differs from whom. Mr. Gittler contributed *France Finds a Huey Long* to the April issue of *Current History*.

Labor has found a new technique, and nothing has contributed more to the success of the C.I.O. than its adoption of up-to-date, streamlined, high-pressure organization methods. Just exactly how these operated in the C.I.O.'s signal success in the steel industry is revealed in *Herbert Harris'* first-hand account of *How the C.I.O. Works*.

Germany has built a new road system which sounds like a motorist's rosiest conception of heaven. They may also have been designed to conjure up the pacifist's most morbid conception of hell. Frank C. Hanighen, a noted authority on all phases of the armaments game, describes this network and analyzes its purposes in *Germany's New Roads*.

Liberia is pretty remote to most Americans. Even the fact that it is the last independent state in Africa to escape being gobbled up by an imperialistic power does not bring it to mind much more vividly. But it is the source of a very substantial number of automobile tires and the "farm" of the Firestone Company. Many are casting jealous eyes upon it, and for this reason its fate is a matter of intimate interest to those who appreciate motoring. J. C. LeClair contributes *Our Liberian Protectorate* to this issue and explains the problem.

Here is a vivid piece about an outcast race in an isolated corner of the world. Harry A. Franck, noted world traveler and author of *Roaming in Hawaii*, describes for *Current History* readers the story of *The Lepers of Molokai*.

New Zealand is a quiet spot, but its various governments have been noted for daring political experiments. Just now it is being governed by the first Labor party in the British Empire to gain an absolute electoral majority, and the outcome of their policies is watched with interest by all followers of politics. Donald Cowie analyzes New Zealand's "new deal" in *News from New Zealand*.

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T R A V E L

AROUND THE WORLD WITH BOOKS

SELECTING thirty books which will "cover the world" is no easy matter! Yet imagine a traveler, on short notice, starting on a trip to virtually every part of the globe. Certainly he would have time to read no more than one, or at the most two, books on any given country—if that!

Hence this list of thirty travel-books, specially drawn up for *Current History* by Malcolm La Prade, widely known to radio listeners as the "Man from Cook's". It is primarily a handy list, reduced to the absolute minimum so that he who runs (touristically speaking) may read and so get a bird's eye view of each country he is to visit. That in many cases he will get much more than that is a tribute to the authors of these books, some of whom have achieved enduring classics of travel-literature, but all of whom are acute observers able to share their enthusiasm and knowledge with the reader.

Starting—most appropriately, this Coronation Year—with England, Mr. La Prade recommends *In Search of England* by H. V. Morton (Dodd, Mead) and *A Wanderer in London* by E. V. Lucas (Macmillan). Both these books definitely belong in the "classic" category—*In Search of England* because Mr. Morton's impressions of cities, villages, and people are as delightfully fresh as the rows of English hedges he passed on his informal motor-trip, and truly impart the spirit of the country. This new, revised edition brings up-to-date what has always been, deservedly, the most popular volume in his famous "Search" series. The author of *A Wanderer in London* is second to no living travel-writer in his ability to recreate the individual atmosphere of cities. Mr. Lucas writes of romantic London, aristocratic London, commercial London, galleries, churches, palaces, streets, squares, and the zoo—all with rare charm and intimacy.

Crossing the Channel—in time for the Paris Exposition—one could not do better than to

choose another book by the same author, *A Wanderer in Paris* (Macmillan). This book, now in its nineteenth edition, has been thoroughly revised within recent years, and with its many reproductions of pictures and sculpture, offers an introduction to the beauties and treasures of Paris, as well as to the picturesque atmosphere of the city—its fascination and variety, its color, and its self-containment. For the whole of France (except Paris) an excellent quick view is afforded by that compact and entertaining little volume, *So You're Going to France* by Clara E. Laughlin (Houghton Mifflin). This, one of Miss Laughlin's first books, is also one of her best in communicating her enthusiasm, as well as her vividly humanized historical background.

Although there are good books on Belgium and Holland, separately, the two countries have a good deal that is akin, and may logically be surveyed in Frank Schoonmaker's book, *Come With Me Through Belgium and Holland* (McBride). Mr. Schoonmaker writes with an awareness of the living past and acute and entertaining comments on the present.

Towns and Peoples of Modern Germany by Robert Medill McBride (McBride) performs a service for the reader, in that there is probably no other travel-volume which deals with the traveler's aspects of Germany—ancient contrasted with modern—in a manner so compact and readable. This fourth edition has been brought up to date with new material collected by the author on his recent extensive tour of Germany.

Romantic Czechoslovakia (McBride) by the same author, is just what the title implies. Mr. McBride discovers a vigorous new nation created by the genius of President Masaryk and at the same time rediscovers one of the most delightful sections of old Europe, charming villages, and a fertile countryside with a peasant civilization that has scarcely changed for centuries.

A Wayfarer in Austria (Houghton Mifflin) by G. E. R. Gedye is a record of an informal travel-journey that brings vividly alive the colorful and historic atmosphere of this country of the blue Danube and the towering Tyrol.

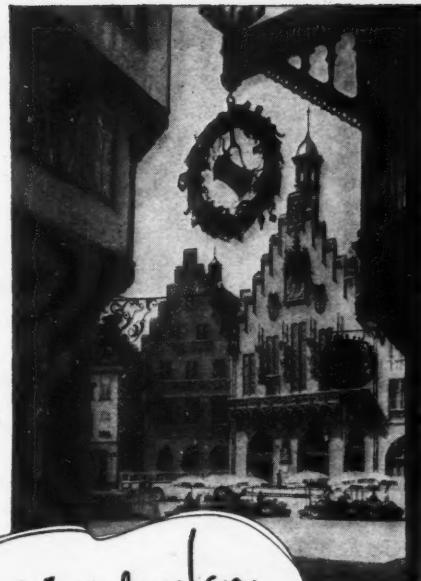
From here, of course, it is only a step to *An Italian Holiday* with Paul Wilstach (McBride). Mr. Wilstach, avoiding the beaten path, takes the reader with him through an Italy rich in historic memories, yet glowing with the life of the people of today. This informal travel-record perhaps gives more completely than any other travel-book now in print the "feel" of the country as a whole, hence its selection as the one volume for Italy. (Her great cities, Rome, Venice and Florence, as interpreted by E. V. Lucas in his "Wanderer" Series, should certainly be included, did space on the Book-Map permit.)

Greece should be next in line—but since here one invades, more or less, the whole field of classical literature, it seemed impossible to select any single volume for the Book-Map. (In a pinch, one might suggest *Glories of Greece* by Carl R. Greer and *Greece and the Aegean* by A. E. Gardner.)

Cruising along the sunny Mediterranean, one finds the magical history of Egypt in *The Nile: The Life Story of A River* by Emil Ludwig (Viking). This deserves to be placed in the front rank of travel books. Following the Nile from its two sources in Equatorial Africa to the Mediterranean Sea, 4,000 miles distant, Mr. Ludwig reveals the essential character of the great river, and skilfully dramatizes the history of the many races of people who inhabit its banks. Another long-range but fascinating history-travel book is *The Cape to Cairo Dream* by Lois A. C. Raphael (Columbia University Press). For those who would know more about the opening up of Africa, and particularly Britain's great part in that undertaking, this clear and interesting record, which tells the whole story, is most heartily recommended.

Recrossing the Mediterranean, the closely interwoven Balkans demand a history in themselves, admirably furnished in that fine and scholarly volume, *History of the Balkans* by Ferdinand Schevill (Harcourt, Brace). Among various colorful travel-books on that part of the world is *Unveiled: The Autobiography of A Turkish Girl*, by Selma Ekrem (Ives Washburn) which gives a remarkable picture of Turkish life today, of the new civilization rising on the old.

Palestine, Asia Minor and the Mediterranean appear as the setting for *In the Steps of St. Paul* by H. V. Morton (Dodd, Mead). Although this book is primarily a study of St. Paul's character,



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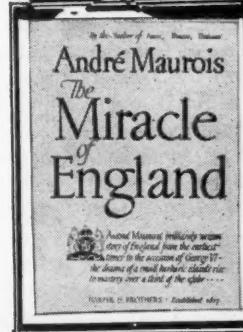
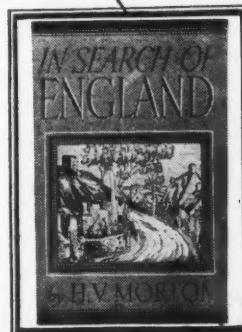
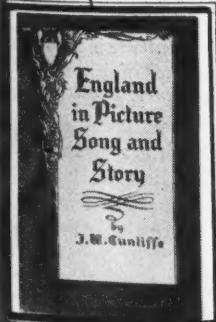
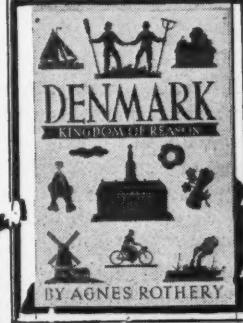
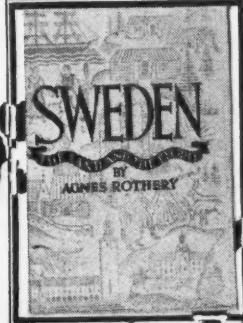


'Must' Travel Books ~

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it also brings vividly to life the lands where he lived and worked.

Persia is excellently portrayed in *Half the World is Isfahan* by Caroline Singer and Cyrus Leroy Baldridge (Oxford University Press). Modern Iran is here observed by a famous author-artist team of world travelers, with unconventional descriptions of every aspect of Persian life superbly illustrated in color and in black-and-white.

India Mosaic by Mark Channing (Lippincott) is what its title conveys, a collection of impressions of a country that remains more of a riddle to the Western mind than any other land on earth. This particular book is chosen because Mr. Channing writes authoritatively and always in a delightfully interesting manner of the strange religious concepts and philosophical teachings of the Hindus, making India seem more real and less confusing to the traveler.

Swinging still farther into the Orient, we come to *My Country and My People* by Lin-Yutang (Reynal and Hitchcock). This is a truly magnificent book, describing China and its people, its art, literature, and philosophy of life—a very real contribution, as well, to better and more sympathetic relations between the author's country and ours.

Terry's Guide to the Japanese Empire (Houghton Mifflin) is a guidebook, but such a super-guidebook that it deserves to represent Japan in this list. Revised and brought up to date, it tells just about everything the traveler could ask about the land of cherry blossoms and snow-capped Fujiyama.

Veering northward to the Soviet Union, which is celebrating its twentieth anniversary this year, it is particularly difficult to select one book, or two, which will give today's traveler a picture as complete as possible, in such brief compass, of the country he is to visit. However, one may certainly recommend, for the scope and comprehensiveness of its facts, the *Handbook of the Soviet Union*, compiled by the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce (Reynal and Hitchcock) \$3. And for a colorful and human presentation of the U.S.S.R. today, which is also authoritative, there is probably no better book than *This Soviet World* by Anna Louise Strong (Henry Holt).

Heading westward across the Baltic, it seems veritable treason not to list such fine and outstanding travel books as Agnes Rothery's *Sweden, Finland, and Denmark*, (Viking Press). However, for purposes of brevity, on a book-travel map, it seems expedient to group the several countries of the Scandinavian peninsula. This is done, admirably, by Harry A. Franck in

A Scandinavian Summer (Appleton-Century), in which this famous traveler goes off the beaten track to write as buoyant and breezy—yet as discerning and sympathetic—a travel-record as any in his long and popular list. With his genius for seeing the inner spirit of a nation, he goes among the people of the streets and hamlets; shows the Swede, Dane, Finn, Norwegian, and Icelander in all their differentness and human-ness.

On this side of the Atlantic, one must certainly call attention to the strange paucity of books on Canada and the United States which are written from the travel angle. (And that is an important one, what with the increasing number of foreign tourists who are visiting these shores). John T. Faris really stands almost alone in the field of North-American travel literature with his two books, *Seeing Canada* (Lippincott) and *Roaming American Playgrounds* (Farrar & Rinehart). Such being the case, it is a pleasure to be able to report that Mr. Faris' books are both well-written and well-illustrated. Their scope as travel books, however, is limited, in that they deal almost entirely with the great outdoors, avoiding cities.

Far and away the most representative book on Bermuda is *The Story of Bermuda* by Hudson Strode (Random House). Every conceivable aspect of the Island, historical and modern, is vividly portrayed, with a wealth of anecdote and 75 beautiful photographic illustrations. The West Indies and the South American mainland receive their due in *Crossroads of the Caribbean Sea* (Missner) by Henrik de Leeuw, a lively and fascinating volume which takes the reader not only along the sunny streets of many glamorous cities, but also into their alleys and forgotten places.

Mexico is the subject of a number of excellent travel books, two of which supplement one another exceptionally well as a balanced diet for the prospective traveler. These are *Mexico Before Cortez* by J. Eric Thompson (Scribner) and *Off to Mexico* by Alice and Leone Moats (Scribner). The former furnishes the best and most vivid historical background for anyone going to Mexico, as well as for the armchair traveler; while the latter is a most entertaining and chatty "guidebook," containing a wealth of detailed information including lists of hotels, shopping suggestions and calendars of religious festivals and bullfights, with interestingly drawn decorative maps.

Images of Earth: Guatemala by Agnes Rothery (Viking Press) portrays the lush and dreamy tropic atmosphere of Guatemala in a series of impressions, factual vignettes which together con-

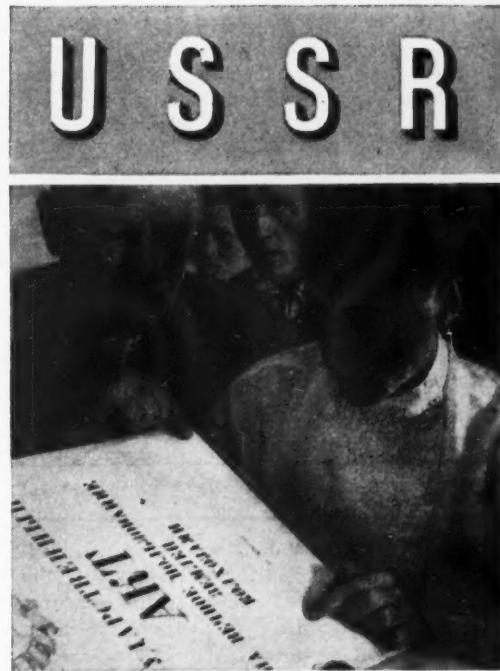
vey a more telling picture of that part of the world than a more formal study could give. This same author, with the sure touch of authority that characterizes her better-known travel books, has written a fine and comprehensive volume in *South America: The West Coast and the East* (Houghton Mifflin). She conveys the color and spirit of the land and the people with her peculiar insight and artistry.

Completing the list of thirty is *South Seas* by Hugo Adolf Bernatzik (Henry Holt), which explores some of the world's remote and as yet virtually uncivilized islands, notably the Solomon group, New Guinea and Bali—giving an excellent and untechnical account of primitive peoples, strange tribal customs and religious practices. The book is magnificently illustrated with photographs, in many cases splendid action-pictures of native life.

Although they do not properly belong in the specific list of thirty, no travel-list would be complete without mentioning a number of unusual books most of which have just been published. Prominent among these is *Finding the Worthwhile in Europe* by Albert Osborne (McBride). It is distinguished by a healthy candor and freedom from tradition, daring to express the author's individual preferences and refusing to hedge. Whether or not one agrees with Mr. Osborne's likes and dislikes, so candidly are they voiced that it helps the reader to gauge his own, aids him in deciding where to follow the author and where to follow his own bent. The countries covered are the British Isles, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

Among the most recent on this supplementary list is *Invitation to Travel* by Helen Dean Fish (Ives Washburn), something new in travel books, as entertaining as it is practical. The author, who herself would rather travel than eat, knows from experience that it is important not only where you travel, but how you travel. And so—although she gives unusual itineraries for England, France and Italy, and an excellent travel-reading list on these countries—her real theme is *how to travel*, delightfully handled throughout. She lets the reader in on travel secrets—good ones—ranging from the one steamer-gift guaranteed to cement your friend to you for life, to sights, sounds and things to do in Europe, that the casual tourist doesn't dream of. The book's tips on how to get the most out of a trip are valuable for the first-time traveler, and has much of interest for the seasoned voyager as well.

Two new books on South America, Lewis R. Freeman's *Discovering South America* (Dodd,



A wealth of interest awaits this season's Europe-bound traveler, in the Soviet Union. By any of the many trips that start at Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Odessa, the voyager may enjoy glorious scenic vistas, study ancient historic monuments, and observe the new life created by the many peoples of this largest country in the world. Evidences of the great strides forward made in the past two decades—gigantic factories, power plants, apartment developments, new cities, schools, hospitals, theatres—are visible wherever one goes . . . cruising down the Volga, motoring across the mighty Caucasus range, or sailing along the Black Sea Riviera to sunny Crimea and colorful Ukraine.

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Mead and Company) and *Land of Tomorrow* by R. W. Thompson (Appleton-Century) complement each other. Mr. Freeman describes a complete circuit of the coast by plane and rail; Mr. Thompson a journey into the interior of Paraguay and Bolivia by river steamer and Model T. The latter book, incidentally, gives an excellent insight into the Gran Chaco disputes.

All the associations and allusions, historical and literary, which hallow England for the traveler are gathered together in *England in Picture, Song and Story* by J. W. Cunliffe (Appleton-Century). The literary associations of England are also graphically set forth in *A Mapbook of English Literature* by John D'Auby Briscoe, Robert L. Sharp and Murray Eugene Borish (Henry Holt).

HERE AND THERE

DURING the period of the Coronation, Scotland will come in for a fair share of the tours. One of the most striking features of the rural communities of Scotland has been the development of new roads and modes of travel. Though a small country, Scotland has wide valleys, immense moors, great estuaries, and lofty mountains—all of which give an appearance of vastness. While the mountains barely average 2500 feet in height, the paradox has its explanation in the fact that they rise from sea level, so that the full majesty is visible to the eye.

Climatically, Scotland produces the unexpected. One of the northern countries of Europe, its winters are mild and its summers cool because of the Gulf Stream. In fact, many subtropical plants flourish on the West Coast and snow and frost are rarely seen.

Scotland would be described by a golfer who is familiar only with the East Coast, or Ayrshire, as a low-lying country, with flat grassy plains and sandy shores. But a yachtsman accustomed to the grandeur of the West Coast fjords (known down through history as the sea-lochs) would tell of a rocky coast and high mountains arching up from the sea. And a pedestrian tourist would refer to the rolling uplands of Galloway, or the rounded ranges of the Cairngorms, while his mountaineering friend would be enthusiastic about the intricate climbs in Argyllshire, or the thousand-foot precipices of Ben Nevis.

Palestine is not far behind Egypt in the matter of discovering and uncovering monuments of antiquity. Throughout the Holy Land, Syria, and Lebanon, tourists are able to see the expeditions at work. From Cilicia to the outskirts of Palestine may be seen the great castles and temples erected

by the Crusaders. For two centuries all the expeditions and all the raids of the Latin Knights started from these castles.

A gigantic 130-foot lighthouse, topped by the most powerful light in the world, will be a feature of the Paris Exposition. The lighthouse is to be placed next to the Marine Palace, and at the close of the exposition will be placed on the *Ile d'ouessant*, a fortress off the coast of Brittany. The *Ile* has had a romantic history: rising out of the Atlantic where the ocean meets the channel its long jagged fingers, pointing defiance at the waves, have been the graveyard of many sailors. Appropriately, it is called the "Island of Horrors."

An ingenious device for dividing the city into different color zones, with scarlet streets for pedestrians, is being put into force at Istanbul. Buildings, municipal kiosks, trams and taxi stations in Pera—the European quarter—are painted gray. The main parts of the Oriental section will be brown, while shades varying from light to cocoa and the darkest chocolate brown will be used for "secondary" and "third-grade" roads. Light blue and green have been chosen for the suburban streets.

Ceylon, the pearl of the Indian ocean, rich in color, history, and legend, is only now finding its place as a holiday country. Touring the island starting at Colombo, it at first appears that the port is completely Europeanized, but the unchanging East is revealed in the crowded bazaars. Here one finds a cosmopolitan city with Singhalese in colored cloth, with Tamils bearing caste marks on their foreheads, and with "Afghans" in queer trousers. The great Buddhist Temple in Colombo is a modern construction and Buddhists continue to spend money toward its further beautification. The frescoes and figures are the work of local artists, who use the same tools, colors, and designs which were in favor centuries ago.

The British Government has taken a firm hand to rule out profiteering during the Coronation season. Anticipating that many visitors would be needlessly alarmed by reports that general accommodations were not available and that it would be necessary to pay exorbitant prices for rooms or meals, the government has set up a Coronation Bureau that will serve as a clearing house for information. Here, the visitor will quickly learn where he may obtain hotel arrangements within his price range. The bureau is now engaged on a census of every room and small

flat listed for letting during the Coronation period and this information will be available to those seeking quarters. This survey will cover towns as far distant as Brighton, for special trains are to be run from such outlying places to accommodate those who have solved the housing problem by locating in the surrounding suburbs and countryside.

The World in Books

(Continued from page 8)

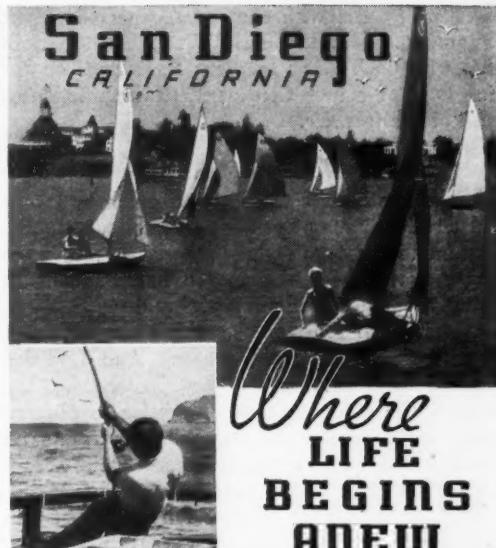
present problem; indeed, it is doubtful whether the author realizes that there is a problem. Mr. Lawrence makes the flat statement that recovery can be brought about here, "as in England," by leaving matters run their course "with a minimum of interference by the state." Yet the facts show clearly that the English government was decidedly active in the administration of recovery measures, and when Mr. Lawrence cries for a return to competition, restrained only by the fraud and anti-trust laws, the temptation is strong to refer him to 1929 and the several years which followed.

American Histories

Definitely outstanding in the field of history this spring have been *A History of American Political Thought* by Edward R. Lewis and *The West in American History* by Dan E. Clark, of the University of Oregon.

Mr. Lewis' work covers the period from 1865 to the World War and presents the picture not so much of what a growing, surging America did, but what it thought and said, and therefore did. There is something particularly satisfying in the reading of a work such as that contributed by Mr. Lewis. Here is information—important information—which takes on the greater value when placed alongside the multitude of books of opinions and ideas. The author has captured the personality of American politics in the period of the nation's greatest growth. Both as a textbook and as a background guide to present-day politics for the layman, *A History of American Political Thought* is profitable reading.

Mr. Clark's work, too, is a scholarly work that has not been made forbidding and which serves a definite function. He does not purport to be a pioneer in recording the history of the West, but his work is among the most comprehensive and authoritative studies of that subject. Carefully documented and making judicious use of maps, the book treats in full detail the expanding frontiers of this country. The West has been a changing territory all through our history and



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Mr. Clark deals with each of the periods of its expansion: from the early West, when nations vied with each other to plant their flags on the rich land of a new Continent, to the disappearance of the frontier.

Conflict in Palestine

There has been a tendency to overlook events and developments of smaller countries, although they may have deep significance, and look to the larger nations for the major happenings. In Palestine, for example, a social and political upheaval is now taking place whose consequences may reach out across the seas. And Ladislas Farago, in *Palestine at the Crossroads*, has enabled the student of world affairs to observe the various forces at play which have transformed the Holy Land into a scene of unrest and violent disturbance.

With a skill in avoiding side-taking that can come only from a journalistic training, Mr. Farago reports that while the Arab revolts are anti-religious in nature, the basic cause is to be found in the clash of temperaments and in the different ideologies. This is not merely an issue of priority rights; the argument does not revolve about the question who was on the land first but the lack of affinity of one group for the other.

Having presented his story, readably and without unnecessary detail, the author avoids all conclusion or prophecy. For a determination as to which side is right—whether Palestine should be a politically-free Arab state or a homeland for the Jews—the reader must turn to his own prejudices.

China and the Far East

Any student of Oriental politics will readily admit that there is ample justification for the adjective in the phrase, "Chinese puzzle." Hence, the publication of *Can China Survive?*, by Hallett Abend and Anthony J. Billingham, and the second revised edition of *A History of the Far East in Modern Times*, by Harold M. Vinacke is cause for thanksgiving.

Messrs. Abend and Billingham are the China correspondents of *The New York Times*; this book cements and enhances their reputation, for it is a thorough, comprehensive, and unemotional piece of reporting. The fact that the first few pages seal a firmly negative answer to the title in no way detracts from the interest or value of the work. For the authors marshal their first-hand evidence convincingly. They see a grim law of survival operating in the Far East, and they demonstrate that Japan is more fit to survive than China. While the island empire adds to its power

resources, China remains still torn by factional politics, still unaware that Japan is in a hurry, and phlegmatically hoping for salvation which will never come from the League of Nations, Great Britain, or the United States. There is here not only a clear picture of the respective strategic positions of the two nations, but also an engrossing description of Chinese domestic life.

Professor Vinacke's book was accepted on the esoteric shelf of "standard works" when it was first published in 1928 as one of the Borzoi Historical Series. The first revised edition was issued in 1933, and the present volume brings the story up to the end of 1936. The account of the impact of the West upon the East—one of the main themes of the work—has been revised in the light of the events of the last three years, and a new chapter has been added, dealing with recent internal developments in Japan and China and concluding with a provocative discussion of the future of the Philippines.

Spring Non-Fiction Books

In addition to the books reviewed in the continuous review section, the following have been selected as important non-fiction books on the spring publishing lists.

European Civilization: Its Origin and Development, Volume V. by various contributors under the direction of Edward Eyre, Oxford University Press, \$7.50.

This volume, covering the economic history of Europe since the Reformation, is the fifth volume in a series of seven on the great project undertaken by Mr. Eyre and his contributors.

The New Soviet Constitution by Anna Louise Strong, Henry Holt, \$1.50.

Miss Strong, an expert on Russia, has carefully examined the new "Magna Charta" of the U.S.S.R. She has translated the new Constitution and her findings, which are complimentary to the regime, are clearly stated.

Jay Cooke: Private Banker, by Henrietta M. Larson, Harvard, \$5.00.

The life story of the nineteenth century's most famous banker, emphasizing not his activities as the financier of the Northern cause during the Civil War nor as the backer of the ill-fated Northern Pacific securities but his career as a private investment banker. Of particular interest to those in the business world.

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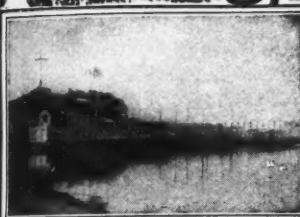
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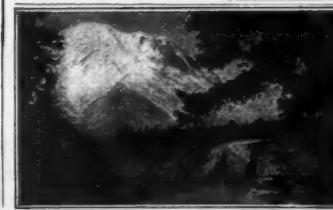
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The Story of Secret Service, by Richard Wilmer Rowan, Doubleday, Doran, \$3.50.

A brilliant and fascinating history of espionage systems and its leading characters during the last thirty-three centuries. Mr. Rowan, one of the greatest contemporary authorities on his subject, is also a writer; the combination has produced a book which for sheer interest rates it with the year's best.

The Woodrow Wilsons, by Eleanor Wilson McAdoo, Macmillan, \$3.50.

The daughter of America's Great Idealist writes of her parents. Unaffected and with great ease, Mrs. McAdoo tells of the simple but genuine life on a New Jersey college campus; the more restrictive life of a Governor's family; and finally, life at the White House.

Talleyrand, by Comte De Saint-Aulaire, Macmillan, \$3.50.

The distinguished French historian and diplomat has contributed a first-rate and human study of the statesman whom Macaulay once called an "obstinate fool."

The Civil War and Reconstruction, by J. G. Randall, Heath, \$5.00.

Both a textbook and a work for the lay reader, Mr. Randall's study is a carefully documented account of the period from Buchanan to Hayes. Its 900 pages provide an interesting and attractive, as well as authoritative, treatment of the Civil War era.

Documents on International Affairs, 1935, Edited by John W. Wheeler-Bennett and Stephen Heald, Oxford University Press, \$8.50.

Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, this volume is an indispensable work of reference for serious students of world affairs.

Prison Life is Different by James A. Johnston, Houghton, Mifflin, \$3.00.

The warden of Alcatraz has written a revealing study of prison life and prison reform. Those interested in this subject will find much in the book to commend itself. Mr. Johnston tells of his experiences at San Quentin and, in recounting the routine of his post as warden, explains the nature of the reforms which he introduced while in California.

The Trial of Lizzie Borden, by Edmund Pearson, Doubleday, Doran, \$3.50.

New England's famous murder case is retold in a highly readable and engrossing manner.

This is the first of a series of books on famous American trials; the Hauptmann murder case will be the second.

Sugar: A Case Study of Government Control, by John E. Dalton, Macmillan, \$3.00.

This timely study by the former head of the Sugar Section of the AAA explains and analyzes the role of the government in the control and regulation of industry, with particular reference to sugar. Exhaustive and authentic, the book will be read by all those interested in the attempts of the government to extend its sphere of influence over industry and in the industrial relations of the government with Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, and Hawaii.

Facing the Tax Problem, by the Committee on Taxation of the Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., \$3.00.

In this book, incorporating nearly two years of study, every American who is concerned in any way with federal, state or local tax problems will find a distinctly new approach to the subject. The volume has been planned to give the general public a working knowledge of what the present tax system is, how the various forms of taxation fulfill the tests that can be applied to them, and what should be done to improve the system.

The Power to Govern, by Walton H. Hamilton and Douglas Adair, Norton, \$2.50.

The Constitution is again examined for its much disputed meaning. But this time the authors have called in as witness the age that produced the document with its earlier stage of economic development, and its climate of opinion so unlike today. Their thesis is that "the Constitution of 1787 is not—and ought not to be—the Constitution of 1937."

Political and Economic Democracy, edited by Max Ascoli and Fritz Lehmann, Norton, \$3.00.

Under the pressure of well directed attacks the defenders of democracy are rallying even if a bit late. This book, one that definitely aims at reaching everyone interested in public issues, faces the problems which confront the American people at this time: To what extent are the new developments of economic democracy, such as planning, works councils, consumer cooperatives, etc., compatible with the traditional institutions of political democracy? What is the proper function of trade unions and arbitration boards? How can democracy be defined? These are some of the problems with which the book is concerned.